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I

SIR A. FAZLUR RAHMAN, KT.
Sheriff of Calcutta.

I share your disappointment that illness has prevented Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan from being present here today and that instead of an illuminating address from so eminent a personage, you have to be content with listening to me. There are reasons for which I have to obey your Vice-Chancellor, but for the consequences of such obedience he is responsible. I promise however to be brief, so that your agony is less.

This is not, as your Vice-Chancellor has hinted, a Convocation address. These are some disjointed thoughts strung together and presented to you in the hope that I may be able to persuade young graduates to think of themselves and their mental equipment in relation to the future because they are the architects as well as the custodians of the future world.

Uppermost in the mind of everyone today is the conflict raging in his world. With the discoveries of Science, time and space have been largely annihilated: the old frontiers of the world are fast disappearing, the ramparts of our civilisation are crumbling to pieces. We are facing a catastrophe greater than the war itself. The confidence that has gone is not economic confidence only, and it is not commerce merely that has broken down. The bottom has gone out of the moral world. The truth is that an entirely new philosophy of life has to be found. We are already talking of post-war world reconstruction, of planned national economy, of four freedoms, of Ocean Charters for a vague Utopia. What is happening in Russia has significance for the rest of the world. We may dislike Bolshevism but its social and economic plans have changed a whole people, constructive principles applied to a people have rapidly transformed it and perhaps the rest of the world is drifting. I am not concerned with social philosophy, but with a philosophy for the individual. The first depends on the second. Collective planning is impracticable until individuals have a plan for themselves. Integrity is required so that our scattered aims may be brought together and made into an organised whole, body and spirit no longer at war with each other.' My remarks therefore are addressed to the graduates of today, those who with hope and

courage are going out to a world unknown, to face its trials and perils. Many of you have probably thought of a career, some perhaps are still uncertain. It does not matter what you choose to do provided you intend to make yourself proficient in whatever you do and remember always to fulfil your end as a man. The important thing is not whether you are a lawyer, doctor or journalist or farmer, but what life values you create. A man is judged in the end not so much by his achievements but by the moral values he has created. There is an intangible, imperishable thing wrought by our daily actions, our decisions, our courage, our fidelity which increases or diminishes the spiritual property of mankind. But how are we equipped for this 'devout consummation'? I hope I shall be acquitted of any unfriendly criticism if I say that most of us do not know where we stand. We are unable to trust the guides that have led us so long. Perhaps there is justification for this but a permanently sceptical attitude can be as dangerous as credulity. The powers of construction are weakened. It is sometimes necessary to be sceptical but it is equally necessary to have faith. I will be told that scepticism has developed with the march of science. I hesitate to speak on science or the scientific method before such a galaxy of scientific talent as I see today, but I suggest that scepticism as such is no qualification for science because science must ultimately lead to action. The sceptic has no desire to act and no reason for action. The scientist on the other hand is in search of truth that can be translated into experience ; he is sceptical about one thing at a time and then only for the purpose of knowing what is to be known about that thing. He analyses because he must synthesise.

The secret of man is in his will. That is what makes him an individual, enabling him to be conscious of himself, compelling him to contemplate his end, and compelling him to have values. But he must have enlightenment and guidance for his will. These are supplied by a clear perception of moral values and the true practice of religion. These give him the right mental habits and the correct attitude to life and its many problems. We obey the natural laws to live a healthy physical life. We obey the moral law to live a healthy spiritual life. But man is a unity, he cannot lead a healthy bodily life with all his powers fully exercised unless his spiritual life is healthy too. Morals primarily concern oneself and they are the most intimate and personal thing about us and we find in them rules of action, forms of conduct and accepted standards of behaviour. Morality is the behaviour of the soul ; it involves a scale of values and the end that man should set himself is to improve his values, to get always higher values so that he can raise the quality of his life. The agent or instrument of morals is the conscience—a secret voice that

should not be overheard. A negative conscience is an unhealthy thing: it should be a positive affirming voice encouraging a man to greater effort, helping him to break through the opposition against him.

Moral effort is therefore necessary and the cultivation of the moral sense is an essential activity of man. We get accustomed to imperfections and are tolerant of them in ourselves, unless we are ever on the watch and self-critical We must be tolerant of the failings of others but not of our own. This is the teaching of all religions. We must behave from the centre of our moral being, true to the sense of right that is active there. It may be said that the moral law is the law of man as a spiritual being. Morals are what a man practises of his deepest desire and cherished ideals. I would like to think that all men choose good; the difference is in the quality of the good that is chosen and this means that morals involve a scale of values. A man must continually judge himself and his actions in relation to his values. It has been said that 'morals may be regarded as the beginning of conscious human life and religion as its summit.'

It is difficult to speak about religion without being accused of militant orthodoxy or being regarded as terribly old-fashioned. There is a feeling that religion is such a personal matter that 'sensible people keep it to themselves and refuse to take about it.' But fundamental things will bear repetition. Religion is the rhythmic movement of the soul, the beat of the heart of life; it furnishes the spark of hope, the ground of confidence and the unexplained reason for happiness. It is the most important thing about man because it is the mainspring of his conduct.

We act as we do because of the religion we have, of what we really are beneath the show we put up. It is not correct to say that it does not matter what a man's religion is. It matters above everything. To be religious is to attempt to become fully conscious of our innermost motives and desires and to cultivate the inner life. To be irreligious is to neglect all these. We know that man's lives can be transformed suddenly in remarkable ways: that transformation is of the inner being and is essentially religious. Religion is a way of life or in other words religion is something to be done—yet when religion is mentioned some instinctively turn their minds from practical affairs to something remote; whereas, that is the very last thing that should be done.

What then is wrong? The fact is—as one essayist has put it—that 'the practice of religion has got confused with religious practices.' These practices should not be ends in themselves; they seem to be a way of avoiding life. To know that your inner life and the life of your ordinary world are interdependent is to be religious, whatever the names you

use. Whatever be the particular religion you profess, it regulates your attitude to life. The important thing is to be aware of a consciousness of purpose and your devotion to that purpose. The cardinal principle of every religion is humility—humility before the divine; that is the beginning of wisdom and wisdom brings tranquillity. The aim of all religions is unity—unity between the spiritual and physical life: between man and man. Brotherhood is religion. All religious controversy is about terms and because we forget that, it becomes bitter. Controversy arises over the denial of what someone else affirms. It can be avoided if we keep to affirmations and let denials alone. Everything points to the belief that if we are to deliver ourselves from our present troubles it will be done only by a change of heart, by action springing directly from religious conviction. I do not think we are very far from the birth of a new enlightenment that will set free the spirit and arouse enthusiasm for a new world. The present spiritual disturbance and suffering of mankind which is obviously greater than the material disturbance and suffering is the condition in which that rebirth is possible. What is required of you is not that you hold this opinion or that, or that you belong to this religion and not that but that you have humility, a right intention and the desire to act upon the truth as you see it. In that spirit, all sincere men and women are at one; disunity is impossible because, we respect each other and as I have said before we become tolerant of the failings of others but not of our own. What we need today and what is required of you is not more knowledge but honest practice, the inner acceptance of truth and the surrender of the personality to it. That is the religion of every man and these should dominate every action of your life. The world would be quickly changed if we remembered Shelley's lines—

> The everlasting Universe of things
> Flows through the mind, and rolls its rapid waves
> ... ... where from secret springs
> The source of human thought its tribute brings

Perhaps I have been old-fasioned. I have endeavoured to view things with as much detachment as possible. I see around me a desire to bring the kingdom of heaven on earth but I do not see that sufficient importance is attached to the equipment for this task. We wait for miracles: they never happen except within ourselves.

Our present civilisation seems to be in decline: democracy which has won its battles finds its victories barren because it is not recognised that

'true democracy is not an external form of Government, but an inward rule.' It means democracy of the heart before democracy fulfilled in practice. We maintain barriers between nations, between ourselves and these hinder intercourse and foster strife. Our political terms and phrases provide the armaments of political conflict that keep men apart. The signs are plainly visible that society is in one of its birth throes. Out of the broken fragments of the present world, we have to reconstruct a new world order. If we use the intelligence we have and exert our best will, that new order will be created peacefully. If instead, we allow events to take their course we shall drift to disaster. That is why it seemed to me that for the enlightenment and guidance of that constructive will the need of morals, of religion, of life values had to be started. Unless we are sure of ourselves we cannot create confidence around us. We must be aware of our destination, that is have a sense of destiny and that awareness comes from an occasional self-examination. Too often a tense of frustration overtakes us and we begin to have drowsy minds, but remember, a sleeper cannot awaken another sleeper. Or we become bitter critics. To be able to criticise is a gift but this gift should sometimes be used to examine ourselves, to see the truth in ourselves and to root out all that is unworthy of our highest ideals. This is a task that no educated man should, avoid. Criticism that is merely destructive is bad: good criticism is itself creative: it replaces that it destroys. Many of you must be feeling that the world we live in is in a sorry mess, well—

"Shatter it to bits,
But be sure to remould it nearer
to your heart's desire."

II

DR. BIDHANCHANDRA ROY, B.A., M.D., M.R.C.P., F.R.C.S., F.S.M.F.
Vice Chancellor, Calcutta University

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MEMBERS OF THE SENATE, GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is a matter of pleasure and privilege to me to extend to all of you a cordial welcome to this annual function, when a stock-taking is done of the activities of the University during the past year. Every one interested in the University would naturally desire to hear of our aims and aspirations, of our hopes and disappointments, in these ever-changing times.

I was called to this office in March last year in the midst of the term of appointment of my predecessor and friend, Sir Azizul Huque, who was suddenly called away to occupy an exalted office in London. Just then, our Eastern borders were being threatened by the Japanese, who had already occupied Singapore, Malay and Burma. On account of the resulting general commotion and confusion, University work suffered a great deal. The majority of students in Calcutta had evacuated, institutions were emptied, the teacher and the taught alike jointly stampeded out of the city. We were uncertain if we could direct and conduct the ensuing examinations safely and without interruption from Calcutta and, therefore, we moved the Controller's Department to Berhampore, whence, amidst difficulties and handicaps, the Controller and his men conducted the examinations.

During the past year, we lost one of our very valued colleagues of the Senate and Syndicate, Mr. Nibaranchandra Ray. He was a silent, sincere, loyal and indefatigable worker; he died in harness and we greatly miss him. In the death of Sir Manmathanath Mukherji the profession lost a jurist of eminence, the country a loving personality, sociable and cultured; and this University to-day mourns the death of a person whose erudition and learning were ever placed at the services of the University. We lost one of our benefactors, Rai Gyanendrachandra Ghosh Bahadur, who was an Honorary Fellow and

had endowed this University with the best portion of his earthly possessions for founding the Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lectureship in memory of his son.

Rev. P. G. Bridge, who was Principal of St. Paul's College and a Fellow of this University, died, leaving behind some, like myself, who learnt to value him as a friend and colleague. Dr. Hiralal Haldar was, for a long period, a Fellow of this University, its George V Professor and for some time he was the President of the Post-Graduate Department in Arts. He was a forceful member of the University, who, on many an occasion, by his powers of reasoning and logical thinking, disarmed his opponents and won a debate.

Towards the end of the year 1941, it was obvious to us that War could no longer be regarded as something extraneous with which we had hardly any concern. The Syndicate, at an emergent meeting held on the 8th December, 1941, discussed the serious situation and considered how far this near approach of War and of the enemy would affect education and the conduct of examinations of our students. In view of these altering circumstances, the University approached the Government to vest them with emergency powers, to suitably alter the Regulations of the University relating to admission and withdrawal of students, conditions of study and examinations, residence of students, conditions to be fulfilled by affiliated colleges and recognised schools and other cognate matters. These powers were granted. The Department of Education further directed all the schools and colleges under them not to open until suitable protective measures were taken. On the 19th December, 1941, the Syndicate called a conference of the heads of affiliated colleges and schools, where it was decided that institutions should not open till the middle of January, 1942, which would give them sufficient time to complete protective measures and consider other allied matters.

On the 23rd of December, 1941, Rangoon was bombed and it was daily apprehended that Calcutta would fare likewise. Thousands of refugees from Burma kept pouring into Calcutta, and panicky Calcutta was largely evacuated. Under these circumstances it was felt that each institution should decide its own course of action, helped and guided by the University and the Government. We have heard criticisms to the effect that the University and the Government had done nothing except issuing circulars from time to time to close down

the institutions. So far as this University is concerned, we were conscious that the non-official institutions were merely affiliated to or recognised by us, but that their day to day administration was regulated by the respective Govern ing bodies which were free to act as they thought best. The Government passed on to us such information and suggestions about the emergency as they obtained from the Military authorities. They also gave directions regarding their own institutions. But at every stage, before this University took any action or issued any circular, they brought together the heads of institutions and acted according to the findings of such conferences. There were no less than 10 such conferences held during the earlier part of the year.

On the 15th of January, 1942, such a conference made the following recommendations which were accepted by the Syndicate :—

(*i*) That, in Class I Area, no School or College or Hostel attached thereto should be kept open unless adequate A. R. P. measures, as prescribed by the Civil Defence Department, were taken; as these were imperfectly understood, the Syndicate agreed to arrange for experts to inspect the premises of the institutions and give advice as to their requirements in this respect. As the matter was urgent and as many of the institutions were not in a position to undertake, out of their own funds, expensive A. R. P. measures, the Syndicate agreed to advance for this purpose a sum up to Rs. 50,000 and asked the Government to do likewise; the Government placed a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 with the University, which, supplemented by contributions from the University funds, was utilised to secure an early completion of protective measures, so that education was least interfered with.

(*ii*) That while undue panic, such as would be created by closing down all the institutions in the danger zones, should be avoided, facilities should be given to guardians to remove their wards to safer areas ; and that for this purpose the University should condone any break in their studies, during the period of emergency, and that those students who desired to join educational institutions outside Class I Area, should be given emergency transfer certificates for a definite period under certain conditions.

(*iii*) That the University should advise candidates who were due to appear at the ensuing examinations from Calcutta, Chittagong,

Howrah and other centres in Class I Area, to change their stations outside this area, and that, for this purpose, a larger number of additional Centres in and outside Bengal should be opened, where the boys could safely sit for their respective examinations. In this connection I cannot but congratulate the students of Chittagong who were appearing at the last B.A. examination. Soon after the morning session was over, the town was bombed but the students sat for their afternoon session all the same ; only one hour's delay was caused by the air raid. Inspite of the confusion necessarily entailed by such change of the Centres, it is a matter of great satisfaction to us all that the heads of the Departments of the University, particularly the Controller's Department and all those connected with the conduct of examinations, rendered ungrudging services, under most trying and exacting conditions.

It was soon apparent that the institutions, with their empty classes and consequently depleted finances, were not likely to stand the strain of the crisis and that most of them would have either to permanently close down or to be re-grouped, so as to leave at least a few institutions where effective and efficient teaching could, with State aid, be provided during the emergency. Even so, this naturally meant that a large number of teachers of schools, which would not function, would be out of employment and starve. The heads of the institutions discussed this matter and felt that preservation of a few institutions by re-grouping was better than extinction of all. The girls' institutions were re-grouped, but it was difficult to evolve a scheme acceptable to the authorities of boys' schools. To relieve distress, the Syndicate directed its Appointments and Information Board to open a register of teachers thrown out of employment and asked the Government to absorb such of them, as were willing, in the A. R. P. administration and provide some aid to the rest by grants given to the respective institutions. The Syndicate further approached the Government to give aid to schools and colleges which desired to open branches outside Class I Area, which they readily promised ; at the same time, it was suggested to the Government to chalk out a long-time plan for evacuation of students from Urban areas (particularly Calcutta), should such a step be found unavoidable at any time. It is impossible to predict the duration of the War ; if it continues for 2 or 3 years more, it is essential that such a plan for uninterrupted and systematic

education should be devised as early as possible. Because, as Mr. Butler, the President of the Board of Education in England, puts it, "the main weapon with which to win the next peace is Education." It is perhaps an easy task to make such provision for school boys, but it is difficult to arrange for college education, particularly in Science subjects which require Laboratory arrangements. The few colleges which have started branches outside danger zones are finding it difficult to continue; and even if adequate financial State aid be available to run the colleges, the parents and guardians might not agree to send their wards to such places unless proper hostel accommodation be also provided at a cheap cost. Our experience regarding the issue of emergency certificates has been that out of 50,000 students who left their institutions in Calcutta and neighbouring areas, only 3,000 school students and 300 college students took transfers to other institutions; this small percentage is a rough indication that any scheme for such migration, if it is to be effective, would have to be carefully planned and cautiously introduced. There is the example of self-help exhibited by the Chinese students during this War, when, with their help, the Universities have been bodily removed, as it were, to distant places, so that their education might not greatly suffer; and it is equally possible that, with mutual aid, understanding and co-operation, the enthusiasm of Bengal students might be adequately evoked to achieve similar ends.

Hardly had the institutions recovered from the dislocation caused by the imminent risks of foreign aggression and air raids and had started working in July, 1942, when the student world was convulsed by a wave of internal commotion after the Congress leaders were arrested in the beginning of August. The disturbances were so acute that on the 13th of August the Syndicate called a conference of the heads of the institutions to decide upon the immediate course of action. The Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education was also present by invitation. At the conference it was decided to keep the institutions closed, in the first instance for two days, to study the situation. The conference met again on the 15th, 21st and 29th August and the institutions were kept closed from time to time in the hope that the commotion would soon pass off and the students would be in a mood to attend to their studies. After opening for six days on and from the 7th September, they closed for the Pujas on the 14th, at the

suggestion of the Hon'ble Minister for Education. Due to these repeated interruptions, education suffered greatly; even those boys—and they were perhaps in a large majority—who wanted to continue their studies, were scared away by mob violence on the one hand, and *lathi* charge and shooting on the other. It could thus be safely asserted that the large bulk of students received but an indifferent education during the first ten months of the past year. The institutions opened after the Pujas and they were gradually filling up; it was estimated that, by the middle of December, they were nearly 50% full. But we were allowed no rest. The air raids on Calcutta occurred on the 20th December and the days following. I am glad to say, however, that on this occasion the bulk of the students were not scared away; possibly they were getting used to the dangers of aggression, and we hope and trust that we would be fortunate enough in conducting our examinations without any mishap or interruption. Such then is the tale of woe, anxiety and uncertainty that I have to present to you, and which the education authorities and the students have had to labour under, during the 11 months I have been in office.

Several attempts were made by the University during this period to obtain the sanction of the Government to schemes for organising Defence Squads in each institution, consisting of students who had obtained training in A.R.P. and other types of Civil Defence measures and who could be mobilised in all cases of internal commotion or foreign aggression. They would have worked under the direction and control of one or two Professors who would be likewise trained. It is unfortunate that the Syllabus for such training, drawn up by an expert committee and on the model of similar student organisations in England, was turned down by the Government. We are hoping for a revision of their opinion in this matter as it is the view of the Syndicate that some such training would incidentally constitute a healthy outlet for the energy of the students and provide them opportunities of service in the defence of their hearth or home, particularly when, as now, their minds are so agitated by various disturbing factors, mostly the outcome of this totalitarian war, and when, naturally, they are unable to engage themselves in studies on a peace-time scale.

I have given you a dismal picture of the way in which the work of educational institutions in Bengal was hampered by factors and causes over which neither the University nor the institutions or their pupils

had any control. Turning now to the activities under the direct control of the University, I would first of all briefly refer here to the progress which has been made in the newly started Departments of Post-Graduate Study, namely, the Department of Statistics, of Geography and of Islamic History and Culture.

During the past year, from the Department of Statistics, 24 papers were published and several problems were sent to the Department for investigation. The Bengal Government wanted a sample census of the area under Jute in Bengal and a forecast regarding the yield of Cinchona Bark ; the Bengal Board of Economic Enquiry wanted a statistical report on the Bengal Labour Enquiry ; the Reserve Bank asked from them for a report on the life of a Rupee Note ; and so on. Each one of these problems was cheaply and easily solved by the Department through the Applied Statistical methods and much labour and expenses were saved to the Government and the other concerns.

The Department of Geography has been started none too soon. If we are to take our due share in post-War reconstruction of this Deltaic Province, a detailed study of Mathematical Geography and Climatology, of River and Regional Geography, of Economic and Political Geography and of Human Geography would be essential. In 1937, a special Geography course for teachers was started; a syllabus for the Pass and Honours Bachelor's degrees was then sanctioned, and in 1941 it became a subject of Post-graduate study in the University. About 1,000 teachers have been trained in the subject and the number of students attending the Under-graduate and Post-graduate classes is on the increase. We are here, as in other Departments, cramped for space.

The lecturers in the Department of Islamic History and Culture are busy organising the Department. There are no suitable text-books covering the prescribed syllabus. Three new lecturers have been appointed this year, who, along with others, will not only teach the students but will help in collecting and editing the literature on the subjects of study.

The Institute of Agriculture started by the University at Barrackpore, with its Agricultural, Dairy, Poultry and Industrial sections, had been doing good work, until the place was commandeered for military purposes. The University felt that if the Under-graduates, in increasing numbers, employ their hands and brain behind the

plough, not only would it relieve unemployment but their example and expert knowledge will permeate to the uninformed agriculturists in the neighbourhood and the whole province would profit by it.

The University Training Corps has been remodelled and reorganised and we are considering measures to make the Corps more attractive to students and to extend its activities. The Principals of colleges in Calcutta met to consider schemes for the purpose and their considered views will be examined by the Syndicate in due course.

The Students' Welfare Department has not been able to do much during the year, as the work of the institutions was all dislocated. But they have opened Casualty and First-Aid centres and have arranged for giving instruction in First-Aid to women students and to members of the University ministerial staff.

There is another department of the University which, silently and unostentatiously, is working steadily towards improving the type of education given in our institutions. One great drawback of our educational methods has been the paucity of Trained Teachers. Several years ago, the Teachers' Training Department was started by the University to remove this want. During the last five years, nearly 1,200 teachers and graduates trained in the Department obtained the B.T. degree, and during the same period 2,500 teachers have taken the Teachers' Training Certificates, either in General or Science courses, or in Geography and English Teachership courses. It is too early to appreciate fully and demonstrate clearly the results of this experiment on the teaching conducted by 15,000 teachers in the 1,600 schools and in 84 colleges recognised by or affiliated to the University. But the practical training given to the teachers in these classes is certain to be effective in the long run.

With the increasing enthusiasm of the teachers and the taught in the work of these newly opened departments of study and research, we are continually being reminded by them of the paucity of space. The administrative departments also, the Registrar's and Controller's departments, demand an ever-increasing space to stock their records, papers, forms and materials for their work; the Library is expanding every year and has no room to arrange, display and make available the very large number of books, journals, etc., it possesses; the various departments of instruction need larger space for their

lecture and class work. Within recent years, every attempt on the part of the University to get some capital grant from the Government for this purpose has met with a refusal, but we will persist in our endeavours, in the hope that the custodians of Public Funds will appreciate the value of the work being done within the walls of the University and come to its aid.

The reports from the various Post-Graduate Departments have been very encouraging. In these departments, work has been steadily pursued by the teachers, research scholars and students; inspite of the commotion and confusion of the past few months, nearly 125 papers and commentaries on Arts subjects have been published in the Journals or in book form. Through the College of Science, however, the University, during the last year, have come into more direct and intimate touch with the business public and the various departments of Government. Due to the prevailing War situation, the supply of materials for civilian and military purposes is becoming daily restricted. The Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, the Indian Research Fund Association controlled by the Government of India, the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research of the Government of Bengal, the Central Jute Committee, and various non-official agencies like the Assam Oil Co., the Tatas, the Bengal Immunity Co., the Bengal Waterproof Works, the Napier Paint Works, the Indian Tea Planters' Association have from time to time placed problems before the various departments of the Science College for solution and provided the departments with facilities and funds. There have been over a hundred items on which work had been done in the College during the year, but I would like to mention a few important and interesting ones.

The Board of Scientific and Industrial Research wanted the Department of Physics to study the possibilities of manufacturing air conditioned plants and of vacuum pump compressors, of constructing loud-speakers and microphones with indigenous materials; they asked the Chemistry Department to study the chemical utilisation of Jute waste, the fermentative production of Acetone, Butyl alcohol, Citric, Gluconic and Oxalic acids from molasses.

The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research asked the Chemistry Department to investigate into the problem of Coastal soils,

to engage in the Electro-Chemical, Thermal, X-Ray studies of Colloid-constituents of the soil and of standard specimen of clay minerals, and they asked the Zoology Department to investigate the life-history, bionomics and development of fresh water fishes of Bengal.

The Indian Research Fund Association wanted an enquiry to be made into the composition of Sietz Pads, into the nature and composition of snake venoms, into the nutritional value of Bengal fishes and other food-stuffs and the manufacture of Vitamin C.

The Central Government wanted us to devise a method of testing optical glass.

The Bengal Board of Industrial Survey wanted us to solve the problem of manufacture of oil plastics, the design and manufacture of measuring instruments and Radio components.

The Burma Oil Company asked the Chemistry Department to take up soil gas analysis, the preparation of air foam solution for fire extinguishing purposes, the identification of crude oil. Their Development Research Laboratory having closed down after the occupation of Burma by the Japanese, they asked the University to let them have a Development Research Section here under the control and direction of the Professor-in-charge.

The Indian Tea Planters' Association wanted investigation into the problem of white ants.

The Dorabji Tata Trust had set apart some money for the alleviation of human suffering. They offered Rs. 60,000 to the University for the study of Bio-Physics, and more particularly for the construction of a Cyclotron Apparatus which, when completed, will artificially produce Radio-active bodies and Neutrons with active physiological potency which are being increasingly used in various diseases.

Even non-official agencies of smaller dimensions gave to the departments their own problems to solve, such as concentration of blood plasma, researches on coal tar, manufacture of red oxide colour and of chemicals and solvents of various types.

Our Appointments and Information Board was established five years ago to secure "collaboration," in the words of His Excellency the Viceroy, "between Educational Institutions and the Authorities and Prospective Employers." The functions of the Board are :—

(*i*) To select apprentices for practical training, both technical and non-technical, in firms and industrial concerns. For this purpose,

the University grants a sum annually, intended for stipends to students. It is usual for business houses to pay their apprentices; so the stipends are actually paid to only a few students.

(*ii*) To recommend to firms at their request, names of suitable candidates for employment. Some employers, like the Port Trust and the Reserve Bank, asked the Board to hold examinations of prospective candidates for appointment by these bodies, and on the result of such tests, some selected names were sent up for approval by the employers concerned. The Indian Air Head-Quarters asked the Board to select candidates for training as Pilots and Observers. 18 candidates were selected and 7 were recruited. The Indian Land Force asked for suitable types of candidates. The Board sent 3 names, of whom two were given Commission.

(*iii*) To give information to Graduates and Undergraduates desiring employment or a commercial career; for this purpose the Board remains in touch with firms and business concerns.

It is very gratifying to note that the various Chambers of Commerce, the Indian Tea Association, the Indian Jute Mills Association, the Calcutta Trades Association, and 225 business houses and departments of Government of India are co-operating with the Board, and as a result, the Board was able to secure employment for 280 persons in 1942, as against 62 in 1938. In the five years of its existence the Board was instrumental in thus securing employment for 650 persons out of 3,000 persons who were registered.

(*iv*) To organise courses of lectures on various technical subjects like Banking, Coal Industry, Jute Industry, Tea Industry, Insurance, etc., by businessmen and industrialists.

(*v*) To arrange for tutorial lectures to candidates for the Public Services. Such lectures have been arranged and are proving useful to candidates.

But the Board has since extended its activities in other directions. In January, 1942, when the educational institutions in Calcutta and its suburbs were closed down, the Board, directed by the Syndicate, opened a register of teachers thrown out of employment; 469 persons registered themselves, and the Board was able to secure employment for 326. When the employees of the Burma Government, the University of Rangoon and the teachers of institutions in Burma came to Bengal as refugees, a similar register was

opened by the Board. In order to persuade the employers to give preference to such evacuees, a Bulletin was published and widely circulated amongst the employers, which was highly appreciated.

In September last year, the Indian Jute Mills Association proposed, through the Board, that the University should hold a Certificate Examination for candidates who desire employment as Labour Officers in the various Jute Mills. They suggested that for this purpose a syllabus of studies should be prescribed by the University Regulations. As this would involve delay, a suggestion was made by the Board to make a beginning by inaugurating a course of lectures and practical classes for the Social workers for six months. This course was started on the 9th of December, 1942.

The Board has formulated schemes for associating educated young men in those industries which are of fundamental importance to Bengal, namely, Jute and Tea. Several young men are being trained by the Tea Companies and Jute Mills to qualify them for holding responsible positions in these industries. If this experiment proves successful, it is hoped that further avenues in these provincial industries will be opened to our young men.

I have dealt with these departments a little elaborately because I feel that it is not enough that a University should lay down, from a sequestrated place, conditions of affiliations of institutions, and courses of studies for pupils and be satisfied that an increasing number of them are obtaining the hall-mark and distinction in the various examinations. The Univer sity must be in constant touch with the world outside.

Sir Asutosh said once, "It has been our ambition to bring the University in intimate touch with the Nation because of the supreme part it must play in developing the National consciousness, pointing out, by its attitude towards the things of life, through the whole wide range of human intelligence, the true direction of National safety and National progress. The University would be dead to the Nation, if it were made to stand on a eight of its own, isolated from the country." Our University endeavours to develop such association by multiplying the number of subjects which an Under-graduate can take up (having regard to his taste and temperament), by undertaking the training of Post-graduates in an

increasing variety of subjects which would ultimately help the pupil to come in closer contact with a world of realities suited to his education and outlook, and through the knowledge gained in the University, he may not only earn his livelihood but get an opportunity of building a world of his own, round his achievements. And yet how often do we witness a brilliant student of the University failing to get or grasp opportunities to utilise his knowledge in real life ! The University, therefore, should, through its intimate touch, establish contact with that world in which employers live, and afford the student guidance and advice so that he could profitably utilise his talents and become a useful member of Society.

While I have alluded to the achievements of the different teaching departments of the University with some amount of justifiable pride, I am not unmindful of the fact that even well-intentioned critics have repeatedly pointed out our defects. Self-complacency should not blind us to our own faults, neither should we suffer from that ignorance which consists less in not knowing things than in ignoring things already known. The first defect pointed out by our critics is that the standard of our examinations is low and continues to be low and that our Graduates fare badly in any All-India competition. Let us pursue this point of view and find out if the University is directly or indirectly responsible for this state of affairs. If the percentage of passes in any group of examinations is any criterion of the standard of teaching given by the University to our students, I need only point out that during the year under review four of them obtained their Ph.D., five were admitted to the D.Sc. and two obtained the M.D. degree. Most of the examiners for these examinations were experts belonging to other provinces or countries, and no question of favouritism could arise. As far back as 1924, Dr. Ganganath Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, expressed himself in the following terms regarding the Post-graduate teaching conducted in Calcutta, " It is mainly the Post-graduate departments of the Calcutta University which have demonstrated beyond doubt that in almost all departments of knowledge, work of the highest kind can be carried on in India. I have had several occasions of judging the work that is being done in the domain of Oriental Studies, and I am prepared to assert that

most of the theses submitted by researchers of the Calcutta University are superior to many of those that have emanated from persons trained elsewhere. Our theses have, in many cases, come to be regarded as authorities on the subjects with which they deal." I recall this unsolicited testimonial of a high personage in the educational world because it generates self-confidence in our scholars.

But our friends then argue somewhat as follows: Calcutta University has become huge and unwieldy, and they admit thousands of students for the different University examinations, the standard of which, on account of the large numbers appearing at them, naturally has fallen low. Mr. O'Malley, in his latest book, "Modern India and the West," has returned to this charge in the following words, "Funds required by the Calcutta University, for teaching and research work, in so far as they are not supplied by private benefactors or by the grants grudgingly given by a Government which the University did little to conciliate, could only be provided by the success of the University as a business concern, the presentation of a large number at its examinations and the ultimate emergence of a large number of them for Post-graduate study." The implications are obvious. But is the charge of admitting an unusually large number of candidates to the examinations, sustainable ? Is the number inordinately high compared with that found in other countries ? My friend and predecessor in office, Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, quoted some significant figures in this connection a few years ago. Calcutta University serves an area covering Bengal and Assam except an area served by Dacca University. The total population of the two provinces is over 65 millions. In this area $5\frac{1}{2}$ lakh pupils study in the Secondary schools, 36,000 read in colleges, a proportion of 1 : 17; the corresponding figures for England were 1 : 12, Canada 1 : 3, Germany 1 : 9, Italy and Japan 1 : 10. Compared with these figures the number of candidates reading in colleges in the Calcutta University is not disproportionately high. If the larger numbers in other countries do not indicate a low standard of education in them, why should it be otherwise in Bengal ? On the other hand, within the last 30 years although the numbers appearing at each examination have gone up 6 times, the average percentage of passes has remained the same. What remains then of Mr. O'Malley's assertion that this University works like a business concern, anxious to secure quantity at the sacrifice of

quality"? But yet the critics persist and point out the significant fact that in any All-India competition, Bengal students fare very badly, which shows that our boys are poorly equipped and badly trained. Either the institutions are inadequately provided and their teachers are incompetent, or that the pupils of these 1,600 schools come to them so deficient in their training in the Primary stages, that they are incapable of benefiting by the instructions given to them. Let us concede for a moment the correctness of both propositions; personally I feel that our boys to-day show poor competitive merit and that both the factors are responsible for it to a certain extent. But if the boys receive defective training in their Primary classes, is the University responsible for this? Whose duty is it to ensure suitable and sufficient Primary education for our children? On the other hand, if the Secondary institutions are not able to employ properly trained teachers, it is because most of the 1,600 schools recognised by the University exist mainly on their fee income; State aid, when available, is only very meagre. Most of these institutions are started and conducted with non-official efforts and enthusiasm, and the vastness of the number is itself an indication of the insatiable public demand for Secondary education. The arrangements for training teachers are meagre; there is no planned scheme for providing commercial, industrial or agricultural education, with the result that every boy has to prepare for University education, whether he is suited for it or not. What is really wanted, to remedy this defect, is not the sudden curtailment of the number of institutions, so as to reduce the totality of pupils attending them—a retrograde measure quite unsuited to meet the public demand, but to improve them by more liberal grants from the State on the one hand and to switch on a large bulk of pupils to other types of studies more suited to them. The problem of education should be approached as a whole, from the Primary to the Post-graduate stages, adequate funds be provided for them, and a complete planned programme be adopted and followed for a large number of years. And this problem is not peculiar to this country and province. Speaking of the schools of England 15 years ago, Mr. Fisher, the then Minister of Education, said, "The wrong things are being taught in the wrong way by the wrong people. But if so, who is responsible? The culprit is the nation." I am sure, as soon as the Nation in this country has an effective and conclusive voice in the matter, it will demand and

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secure a more effective form of Primary education, a well planned Secondary education sufficiently diversified to meet all tastes and talents, and a liberally endowed and co-ordinated University education.

This brings me to the next subject for discussion. We are repeatedly told that this University, although its activities have multiplied and expanded beyond recognition, such as would demand the full attention of the authorities, are loath to part with power and desire to keep control over Secondary schools, a control which they exercise very perfunctorily. But who, may I ask, gave this authority to the University ? The Act of Incorporation and the subsequent Statutes enjoined this duty on the University. This control, to my mind, was given in pursuance of the policy laid down by Macaulay, in his famous Despatch, that the Act "was to create a body of highly educated men, from which education will filter downwards ultimately to the masses." Be that as it may, the fact remains that the University have always declared that they would gladly hand over the duty of looking after schools to a properly constituted Board. Barring my revered friend Sir U. N. Brahmachari, who is present here, I happen to be the seniormost Fellow present in the hall to-day. I have seen the working of the University in all its branches during the last thirty years and no one is more conscious than I am of the fact that the Syndicate, with its present duties and responsibilities, cannot do justice to the task of properly directing the School education, particularly when the responsibilities are divided; practically, the whole inspection is done by the Governmental agencies and the books are prescribed partly by the Government and partly by the University. In 1926, Sir Ewart Greaves, the then Vice-Chancellor, urged that, both in the interests of the University and in the interests of the Schools, a Secondary Education Board should be established at an early date. Since then and even from before that date, many fruitless attempts have been made for the establishment of a Board of Secondary Education. I understand that a new Bill was introduced in the present Assembly and is now being considered by a Select Committee. The University have not been consulted on this occasion regarding the terms of the Bill. But now, as always, the attitude of the University has been that a properly constituted Board should be established at an early date which should be an independent body, on which and on whose effective executive committees, the University should have

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adequate representation, so that there may be a continuity of educational policy and objective in the School and Collegiate stages. The Board should have sufficient funds to open up new branches of study, particularly in the vocational line, which would relieve the congestion of the colleges. Lastly, if and when the Board takes over the conduct of the Matriculation examination, full compensation should be paid to the University for the financial loss sustained by it. I am afraid that so long as an educational measure continues to be a game of bagatelle of the prevailing political bodies, there is little chance of an effective or early result.

The next defect that our well-meaning critics point out is that while our students get their distinctions in different branches of study, while the bounds of their investigation extend even beyond the geographical limits of Asia, while their enquiries are extended to whatever is performed by man and produced by Nature, they have not established that contact with the masses which was aimed at by those who introduced University Education in this country. Sir Asutosh, a few months before his death, observed, as a result of mature judgment and close observation, " The Indian Universities have not been able to take root in the life of the Nation because they have been exotics." One great drawback in our education has been that it was, and has been until recent years, given through the medium of English. Macaulay, who was the author of the scheme, aimed "at creating a body of Indians who would, among other things, refine the vernacular dialects of the country and by enriching them with the terms of science, borrowed from the nomenclature of the West, render them, by degrees, fit vehicles for carrying knowledge to the great mass of the population." Sir James William Colville, who was appointed the first Vice-Chancellor to give effect to this scheme, thus further expounded this point of view, "Those who first undertook the task of transferring the treasure of Western learning and Western science into the Oriental mind, had to choose between conveying instructions through the medium of the English language or through the medium of vernacular. They chose the first method which unlocks the whole treasure house but we must not neglect the other method; on the contrary, use it more and more as occasion offers if we wish the education which we give to strike deep root or to extend over a wide surface." The University had for nearly 60 years neglected

"the other method" and created a race of English-educated youth, entirely out of touch with the Nation and with the masses, an exclusive group who prided on their knowledge of the language of the ruler, a knowledge of which was a passport to high emoluments and a better standard of living, a group who felt a sense of pride and prestige in speaking and writing in English and in looking down with contempt on the Indian languages, a group to whom a knowledge of English became the symbol of the ruling classes, a group who began to hate everything Indian and applaud everything British. Happily, although very late, things have changed. Vernacular is now a compulsory subject for the Matriculation, Intermediate and B.A. examinations, with certain provisos; for the bulk of the students studying in schools, Vernacular is the medium of instruction in all subjects other than English. Here, again, our critic has said that this would lead to a defective knowledge in English, which is the official language of the land and through which a vast treasure house of learning is opened to the enquiring youth. But to those who argue thus I can refer the reports of the Education Committee of 1917, the Hartog Committee and the Panjab University Enquiry Committee. Every thinking educationist will agree with the view of the Vice-Chancellor Maine that "What you should regard is not the language but the thought; if the thought be clearly and vividly conceived, the proper diction, if the writer be educated, will be sure to follow." It is admitted that instruction imparted through English leads to cramming and memorising of text-books and, therefore, the Sadler Commission recommended the maximum use of the Vernacular as the medium of instruction. Even for a proper knowledge of the English language a student should be taught the other subjects through his mother-tongue, as he will then develop a coherent and lucid way of thinking, he will then be able to grasp the inner meaning of English language and literature and speak it with ease and grace.

And there is yet one more defect, more or less inherent in our system of education, which requires remedying. We have made ample provision for various types of intellectual education, though they fall short of our ideal; we have devised a system of imparting physical instruction for our youths. But we have as yet made no arrangements for their moral training, the training which makes a person

strive towards righteousness in action and which involves the whole idea of duty and obligation. One of the main functions of the University is to produce leaders of thought and action, workers dedicated to the service of the Nation. The University is justly regarded as the citadel of Truth, the home of that freedom of the spirit which is True Liberty, Liberty to think, Liberty to speak, Liberty to teach. No votary in this temple, no alumni of the University could take his due share in shaping the New World to be, unless he receives the benefits of a well-planned moral instruction. It is unfortunate that in this country, a University teacher may be severed from the religious sympathies of the taught and must either be silent on the relations of man to a higher world or, if he discusses them, may be suspiciously heard or imperfectly understood. And yet how otherwise could a young man get that discipline which would make him a self-governing Being, not a being governed by others. If young men cannot govern themselves, what effective share can they take in the New Reconstruction of the world where there will be—

Freedom from Fear
Freedom from Want
Freedom of Speech
Freedom of Religion.

We hear now-a-days a great deal about Democracy. It is not merely a form of government or a system of holding elections. It is defined as the principle of Freedom, of respect for and assurance of basic human rights. The future leaders of the country will be able to appreciate and respect this principle to the extent they are disciplined, self-governed, self-restrained and self-reliant. Without such a moral training, the transition of the youth from the restraint of the class-room to the non-restraint of the world will be impossible; without such training an externally governed youth can never enter into an internally governed maturity. Self-government, to which we aspire, means not only the privilege of assisting to govern the community to which we belong but the preliminary capacity of governing ourselves. Truest independence exists where authority is least assailed; the first symptom of enlightenment is the recognition of discipline.

But there is another reason why more emphasis should be laid on the moral training of our youths, using that expression in the widest

sense. Morality signifies that conduct of life which aspires at securing for mankind the *summum bonum*, the greatest good of the largest number; and morality can only flourish in an atmosphere of Truth.

You, Graduates of the University, you have so long, in your studies of Literature, Art, History and Philosophy, pursued the path of Truth; in your laboratories you have searched after Truth. You would naturally wonder, why is it that there is such a difference between your world of yesterday and the world you are about to enter. You must be bewildered at the happenings in this civilised world. Why should millions of men be hurled to death and destruction when modern science has brought the dream of universal plenty within the reach of practical possibility ? In this totalitarian War, the very votaries of Truth have utilised their knowledge, not to consolidate Truth, but to suppress it or kill it. Let me take two examples. History and Ethnology tell us that the races of the world are developed and differentiated according to certain fundamental laws and have given to the words "Aryan" and "Aryanisation" a definite connotation and meaning. But the Fuehrer has his own definition of the terms "Aryan" and "Aryanisation," which is modified or altered in their application according to his dictates.

Economists have laid down certain formulae by which the dealings amongst mankind are calculated. But the 'New Order' proclaims a new Economic Theory of Take All and Give Nothing in Return, except dependence and slavery. One of the fundamental truths of the Science of Life is that "construction" must be closely associated with any plan of "destruction"; you may not destroy unless you are equally ready to construct, or else a void is left. Yet, look at the tragedy now being enacted; the Dictators have indulged in an orgy of destruction—of life, property and territorial boundaries—in order that Europe may be devastated and subjugated, wherein the basic rights of men and the nations of Europe would be annihilated in accordance with the German Conception of Racial Superiority, with the German Master Race ruling the whole world. This, in other words, means that there could be only One Race, One Domination, One Truth as ordered by the Dictators. Indeed, those who have been foremost in their mastery of knowledge and sciences are the worst aggressors.

The world will not tolerate such wanton destruction, this totalitarian scheme of subjugation by force. Along with the slaughter of innocents, is slaughtered all that is precious to us—our ideals of new life, our hopes of a better world. No wonder then, that the thinking world is tired of violence and is pining for a new World Order where peace and goodwill, mutual service and understanding will be the governing forces. Graduates, I would advise you to eschew the paths of violence—violence in words, thought and deed—because violence and Truth are misfits. Truth integrates, violence disrupts, Truth is accommodating and settles difference, violence is chauvinistic, and creates and perpetuates difference.

You who are standing to-day on the threshold of a new life and a new career, must remember that you go forth, pledged to make, each in your own way and according to your own capacity, a personal contribution towards creating a noble world out of the ruins of the old. The War is indicative of the birth pangs of the New World. Study the problems carefully, get accustomed to logical thinking and scientific investigation of the present-day world—its sources of conflict and the points of agreement—so that your contribution will be worthy of you and of your *Alma Mater* ; such contribution will be enduring only if you strive to cleave to the two supreme and dynamic virtues of Truth and Nonviolence.

III

His Excellency's Speech at the Annual Convocation of the Calcutta University held on Saturday, the 13th March, 1943

By virtue of his office, the Governor of Bengal finds himself Chancellor of this University, and although the present Chancellor has no part in the day to day administration of its concerns, I can assure you that he feels a deep interest in the University itself and does not hesitate to impress upon the Governor the need for encouraging its activities and safeguarding its interests. I therefore want to make it clear that to-day I am addressing you as Chancellor, and I trust that my remarks will be received with the realization that platitudes produce few results, but that plain speaking may be of help.

The Vice-Chancellor has mentioned the losses which the University has sustained during the past year. I join with him in saying that we are the poorer for the deaths of Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherjee, Rai Bahadur Gyanendra Chandra Ghosh, Mr. Roy, Dr. Haldar and the Rev. P. G. Bridge. They were not merely ornaments of the University and helpers in the transaction of its business. Their example and their belief in the intrinsic value of culture was an inspiration to all who came into contact with them.

There can be no doubt that during the past year the University has passed through troublous time and the Vice-Chancellor has detailed the principal difficulties with which it has had to contend. I feel that on the whole we can reasonably congratulate ourselves on the extent to which University work has been maintained despite the threat of foreign invasion, the outbreak of civil disturbances, the psychological effect of air raids and the fluctuation of prices and food supplies. The co-operation which the authorities and students of this Universitg have offered in making provision for the passive defence of Calcutta is indicative of a determination not to allow extraneous considerations to interfere with the teaching activities of this seat of learning. The deeper such a determination can drive its roots, and the wider it can spread its branches, the more stable and enduring will be the influence of the University upon those whose

characters it seeks to form. In this respect it is encouraging to find that the alarms and demands of war have not impeded the progress made by the Departments of Statistics, Geography, Islamic History and Culture, Teachers' Training and Students' Welfare, and that the reports from the Post-Graduate Deparments are so encouraging.

Bengal, more than any other Province, has suffered from the malice of the Japanese, and its capital city has been one of their objectives. This University, therefore, should give a lead to others which are situated in safer parts of India, and I greatly hope that students of Calcutta University will not be content to obtain comfortable jobs in the administrative branches of the Forces, but will show their courage and spirit by joining the fighting branches.

I do not wish to imply that the main business of a University should be the production of sailors, soldiers or airmen. Its aims and objects are much wider than that. There is a story told of a visitor from England who, looking over a wide expanse of bleak moor and bog in Scotland, turned to a shepherd beside him and said—"In God's name, what does this country produce?" The shepherd solemnly removed his cap and said,—"Sir, in God's name it produces educated men." Bengal has no moorland bogs, and despite our present food difficulties the Province does produce a vast quantity of the fruits and crops of the soil; but it does more than that, for it also produces educated men, and it is rightly proud of the long line of such men who have made its name famous. Very many of them were connected in some way or other with this University, and all of them would agree that the standards set by the University are reflected, not merely upwards and outwards to the wider world, but also downwards to those numerous educational institutions which look for a lead from the University of Calcutta. We, therefore, carry a great responsibility to set a great example, and that responsibility will continue in the future, even though the University's control of secondary education may be transferred to a Board constituted in terms of an impending statute.

The Vice-Chancellor has quoted figures to prove that there is no appreciable difference in the proportion of secondary school students proceeding to Universities in India, England, Canada, Germany, Italy or Japan; and on these grounds he denies the theory that this University is unwieldy in size or that the number of its students is excessive. I am not quite sure, however, if he is justified in so readily concluding with the late Mr. H. A. L. Fisher that the culprit of "teaching the wrong things in the wrong way" must, therefore, be the nation. It seems to me that there is a mistaken approach here, and that it results from the inaccurate assumption that the quality of education is to be

determined by the measure of the achievements of the taught. We certainly require an effective form of primary education, and a well-planned secondary education sufficiently diversified in character. But we must look, and we have a right to look, to our Universities to maintain and to increase educational standards in regard to those whom they admit in their precincts and whom they send out as their graduates.

I welcome the remarks of the Vice-Chancellor about the Appointments and Information Board. The Board's results are reasonably satisfactory, for it has secured employment for 650 out of 3,000 registered students, which is commendable in itself. I hope, however, that it will be possible to improve in the future the number of those for whom employment can be found.

One thing is certain—that the scope of opportunity to the younger generation of Bengal is unrestricted, and it is accordingly to the younger generation that I wish to address the remainder of my remarks. Never has such a chance been given to Youth to prove its worth. Modern war requires an educated and intelligent army, for mere brawn can be defeated by mechanism and armament, and the production of armament and its use require a highly intellectual personnel. The world of the future will equally depend upon intellect and adaptability, and India in particular has a great opportunity to expand the use of these mechanical methods which required skilled technicians and skilled supervisors and organisers. Bengal has given a fine lead in supplying men for the Technical Training Schemes, and can look forward to having available considerable skilled labour to work the machines of post war industry. But to supervise such labour, co-ordinate effort and produce results, Bengal will have to draw on the very best of its personnel. This is where you, the founders of the post-war India, have your opportunity. Some of you may take the risk taken by many "Captains of Industry"—and may decide go in at the bottom and trust to your education and personal "grit" to get you to the top. Others may prefer to avoid that risk and to accept an intermediary position with fewer prospects. To all, however, there is an opportunity to serve Bengal, India and the world.

The openings in the Defence Services are numerous, and as you are anxious to free India from the threat by Japan, many of you should join these services. Thereby you will help to prevent a violent aggressor from seizing your lands and your homes. Service in the Air Force may lead to employment in post-war commercial Air Lines. It will certainly ensure a world in which these Lines will not be run by the Axis Powers. The Indian Army and Royal Indian Navy also need young men of initiative;

courage and staying power, and many of you, and particularly the members of the U.T.C., may well find there opportunities of showing your worth.

Whatever profession or employment you adopt, I would urge you to fit yourselves for the reconstruction which will be required in the years after this war, and to use to the best advantage of the community at large the training which you have received here. You will be concerned to provide for yourselves and those who may be dependant on you, and it is right you should be so concerned. Do not, however, let this concern lead you into courses which may be detrimental to the interest of your fellow men, and try to put the needs of society above your own. A University education should enable you to distinguish between the meretricious and the really valuable, and to realise that accepted standards are not to be lightly tossed aside in favour of every will-o'-the wisp that crosses your path. Do not imagine also that book-learning by itself fit you for every form of employment. If you are to stand on your own feet and prove yourselves to be educated men and women in the widest sense of the term, you will need a critical faculty, an ability to compare the true and the false, a constancy in seeking after the highest and in rejecting the lower values, and a standard of character and behaviour which will bring out the best, not only in yourselves, but also in your neighbours. If you can demonstrate those qualities in whatever walk of life you may choose, you can be quite certain that Calcutta University will be proud of you.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW
APRIL, 1943

GANDHIJI'S FIRST ARREST AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS

H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

ACCORDING to his autobiography, after the unfortunate incidents which had happened at Delhi on the 30th March, 1919, Swami Shradhanand had "urgently summoned" Mahatma Gandhi there and, in reply, he had wired that he would leave for Delhi "immediately after April 6th." This invitation had come because his presence was considered necessary to restore a peaceful atmosphere. We also learn from Gandhiji's autobiography that Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal, the Amritsar leaders, had sent Gandhiji a pressing invitation to visit Amritsar after Delhi, mainly in order to induce the people to end the hartal which they had been prolonging against his wishes. It has been held that these urgent summons from Delhi and Amritsar had gone to him because the leaders in these places had apprehended that interference by officials might lead to the situation passing out of their control and they needed his presence for meeting such a crisis.

Gandhiji who was then at Bombay was suffering from acute heart trouble, the result of the very long and arduous All-India tour he had undertaken to mobilise agitation against the Rowlatt Act. It was after some difficulty that he received the permission of his medical advisers to leave for Delhi and Amritsar which he did on the evening of the 7th April, 1919.

We are told by Mahatma Gandhi in his autobiography that he heard rumours about his probable arrest at Muttra which he reached on the 8th April, 1919. Before the train arrived at Palwal station, a few miles from Delhi, he was served with a written order "not to enter the Punjab,

not to enter Delhi and to restrict himself to Bombay." He was asked to get down from the train which he refused to do, saying, "I want to go to the Punjab in response to a pressing invitation; not to foment unrest, but to allay it. I am therefore sorry that it is not possible for me to comply with this order."

It appears that the information conveyed to Government was that Mahatma Gandhi's object was to seek arrest by disobedience to the law of the land and to secure adherents to the Satyagraha movement. It concluded that there would be recrudescence of trouble at Delhi if he was allowed to do so and that his entry into the Punjab "would in all probability have been the signal for an outbreak, and the enlistment of any large number of supporters to his movement in that province would almost certainly have led to an immediate campaign of active resistance and outrage." ("India in 1920," p. 231.) Therefore "the Government of India authorised the local Governments of the Punjab and Delhi to issue order under Rule 3 (*b*) of the Defence of India Rules, directing Mr. Gandhi to remain in the Bombay Presidency."

The actual arrest took place at Palwal on the afternoon of the 9th April, 1919. Gandhiji was taken out of the train and kept under police custody.

It is unfortunate that these two Governments were misled in this way. National India has maintained that all trouble would have subsided if the Mahatma, according to the arrangements previously made, had been permitted to visit Delhi and the Punjab. The complete absence of any news about his whereabouts for twenty-four hours had the effect of making the public believe that, like Dr. Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal of Amritsar, he had been, spirited away to parts unknown and perhaps compelled to suffer ill-treatment at the hands of the police which in those days enjoyed even a less savoury reputation than at present. Apprehensions such as these were to a large extent responsible for the violence which manifested itself immediately in Western India.

To resume the narrative, there was a short halt at Palwal before the train left for Delhi. With the permission of the police, Mahatma Gandhi dictated to Shree Mahadev Desai who was accompanying him a message to his countrymen. In it he exhorted them not to resent his arrest or to do anything tainted by untruth or violence. At the very end of this message he asked all to continue the struggle in the following terms:

"I hope that the Hindus, Muhammadans, Sikhs, Parsis, Christians, Jews and all who are born in India or who made India their land of adoption will fully participate in these national observances and I hope too that the women will take therein as full a share as the men."

After a short time, a train came from Delhi and Gandhiji was made to enter a third class carriage with the police party escorting him. On reaching Muttra, he was taken to the police barracks but no one seemed to know what was to be done with him or where he was to be removed. At four o'clock on the morning of the 10th April, 1919, he was roused from sleep and put into a goods train proceeding towards Bombay. At noon he was made to get down at Sawai Madhupore where he was taken charge of by a non-Indian Inspector of Police who put him into a first class compartment.

This man tried to persuade Mahatma Gandhi to return to Bombay of his own accord and when he refused to do so, said that he would be taken to Bombay. At Surat, he was put in charge of another police officer who, on reaching Bombay, told him that he was free. This was on the afternoon of the 11th April, 1919.

Delhi After Gandhiji's Arrest

Before leaving Bombay, Mahatma Gandhi had informed his friends at Delhi that, on account of weakness due to ill health, he would not be able to stand a public demonstration and that the date and the time of his arrival there should not therefore be made public. The train by which he had travelled was due to reach Delhi on the evening of the 9th April, and only members of the local Satyagraha Sabha went to the station to receive him. This they found swarming with C.I.D. officers. It was reported in the papers at that time that, as the train steamed into the railway station, certain Europeans, to whom it is far from easy to ascribe the possession of manners, on seeing the crowd waiting to receive him laughed and shouted out "arrested."

Shree Mahadev Desai alighted from a third class compartment and informed those assembled that Gandhiji has been arrested at Palwal and removed to some unknown destination. He assured them that the officer who had arrested him had behaved very courteously and that he had left a verbal message to be conveyed to the Delhi public, as well as a written message which was to be read out at the proper time and place. This was on the evening of the 9th April, 1919. Mahatma Gandhi's message was sent the same evening to all the local papers and was published the next day.

On the morning of the 10th April, the people assembled at the banks of the Jumna for their hartal bath and a meeting attended by about twenty thousand men and women was held, where Gandhiji's message was read out and prayers offered for recovery of his health. The same evening, there was another meeting attended, according to the evidence

tendered before the Hunter Commission, by about sixty-five to seventy thousand people, where the following resolution was passed:

"This mass meeting of the citizens of Delhi calls upon every Indian to do his duty to his country and following the noble and inspiring example set by Mahatma Gandhi at Palwal, to seek the withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation or his own imprisonment."

The local leaders did their best to have the shops opened but the hartal which had commenced on the 10th April, was continued to the 11th. The answer to such requests was that the hartal would not be ended till Gandhiji was released.

A wire sent by Gandhiji from Bombay was received by Swami Shradhanand on the morning of the 12th April, announcing his safe arrival there. This news was immediately published in the local papers and the people were called upon to end the hartal. The next morning, Principal Rudra received a second wire from him in which the people were asked to resume their normal activities. All the local leaders, Hindu and Mussalman, went round with this wire and induced some of the shops to re-open. But the appearance of the Deputy Commissioner who had all along enjoyed a reputation for the imperiousness of his temper, accompanied by a large number of police men, in the business quarters alarmed the shop-keepers who closed their shops. The same evening (13th April, 1919) a monster meeting attended by more than thirty thousand people was held in which they were exhorted to obey Mahatma Gandhi and to resume business from the next day.

The Chief Commissioner convened a meeting of the local leaders on the 14th April, 1919, to devise ways and means for ending the deadlock. On the 15th April, Swami Shradhanand and Hakim Ajmal Khan succeeded in inducing the butchers to open their shops. Owing to suspicions regarding the intentions of the local authorities, the people now commenced accompanying the leaders whenever they were summoned to conferences and meetings. Many of them armed themselves with lathis and declared that they would lay down their lives to prevent their arrest. They promised to keep quiet but refused to part with their lathis.

The Chief Commissioner of Delhi who was quite different in nature from the unpopular Deputy Commissioner intervened at this stage and issued a proclamation in which he declared that neither the leaders nor the people would be interfered with so long as they conducted their agitation in constitutional and legal ways. This was on the 15th April, and had the immediate effect of quieting the people.

The efforts of the leaders reinforced by the proclamation just referred to induced many shopkeepers in Chandni Chowk to open their shops on

the morning of the 16th April. When about half the shops had done so, the unpopular Deputy Commissioner and a strong police force appeared on the scene and all the shops were closed immediately. In the afternoon, when the police were withdrawn, hundreds of volunteers came forward and did their work all through the night. It has been stated that there was not a single report of an offence on that night.

By noon of the 17th April, all the shops and places of business had resumed their normal work. But again the Deputy Commissioner sent a police force armed with bludgeons to parade the streets. This and the news that there had been firing in the city created tension. The leaders now came together and Swami Shradhanand sent a wire to the Viceroy explaining the whole situation.

On the 18th April, 1919, hartal was again observed. One of those wounded the previous day had died and the dead body was followed to the cremation ground by nearly half a lakh of people.

Normal conditions were restored from the morning of the 19th April, 1919.

Calcutta After Gandhiji's Arrest

The news of the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi was delayed in transit and reached Calcutta late in the evening of the 11th April, 1919. Next morning, nearly all the shops in north Calcutta and the Stock Exchange were closed. At about 2 P.M., a meeting was held inside the Nakhoda Mosque in Chitpore Road, which Mr. B. Chakravarti, the Hindu nationalist leader, was invited to address. Here he exhorted the audience to submit to abuse, insult and even violence without any attempt at retaliation. There was also a monster meeting at Beadon Square where the gathering was so large that arrangements had to be made for an overflow meeting. Here the principles of Satyagraha and the way to apply them were explained.

We have the evidence of Mr. Chakravarti that the relations between the public and the police were excellent and that there was not the slightest apprehension about any disorderly conduct or disturbance of any kind. Bengali Bhadralok volunteers were in evidence everywhere requesting people to get down from conveyances but there was no pressure of any kind.

The hartal was continued the next day, 12th April, 1919. Calcutta was determined to observe it to show its condemnation of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest. All shops were closed and no business was done in Indian quarters. Volunteers, Hindu and Mussalman, were posted everywhere to maintain order and tranquillity. Passengers using tram cars

were politely requested to get down and walk. By about 8 o'clock in the morning, all cars plying in the Indian quarters stopped running.

At about 7 A.M., a procession composed of Hindus and Mussalmans proceeded to the river to take their bath and returned singing national songs and shouting "Bande Mataram" and "Hindu Mussalman Ki Jai." The procession dispersed at about 11 a.m.

About this time, there was a strong rumour that some had been arrested and one killed at Bow Bazar situated in the centre of Calcutta. A huge crowd proceeded to the place of occurrence but was stopped on the way by the police which arrested about a dozen among them. One of these was a Mussalman, two were Marwaris, five Bhatias and the rest Bengali Hindus. There was no violence on the part of the crowd which, however, did not disperse.

Then appeared three motor cars filled with armed police. It was then that the crowd began to show signs of excitement. These were followed by two other cars containing a dozen English soldiers. Some of the leaders asked that these should be withdrawn as there had not been any trouble up to that time. But no heed was paid to this request.

Round about 1-30 P.M., a large crowd assembled at the Strand Road where it joins the approach to the Howrah Bridge. Motor cars passing along Strand Road were stopped and the men in them asked to alight—a request always heeded by Indians. A taxi with two Europeans now appeared, and the driver, under orders from these men, drove on. It was forcibly stopped and the Europeans were attacked after they had abused the crowd. At this, a European police officer asked an Indian constable to disperse the crowd and shot the man when he refused to carry out his orders. When he fell back unconscious, the crowd began to belabour the officer who managed to make good his escape. Meanwhile, the two European passengers had also got away. It was after this that the car was set on fire by the mob.

The constable, still unconscious, was carried in procession with shouts of "Desh Bhakta Ki Jai" and "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai" and left for treatment at a hospital not far from the place of occurrence.

As the story of the shooting of the constable got round, the crowd at the foot of the Howrah Bridge grew in number. At the request of a military officer, some leaders began to disperse it. At this time, a fresh party of police with European sergeants and the Deputy Commissioner of Police arrived at the spot where the motor car had been burnt. One of the officers stated that fire would be opened unless the leaders succeeded in dispersing the crowd within two minutes—an obvious

impossibility in view of its number and the narrowness of nearly all the streets in the locality.

In the mean time, a machine gun was placed at the junction of Harrison Road and Chitpore Road further down. It was suddenly wheeled round from south-east to north-west so as to face the Howrah Bridge and a volley was directed at the upper story of a neighbouring house. It was said that stones had been thrown at the soldiers from the crowd but that they had thought that they had come from this building. Volleys were discharged at the crowd also. It was found that these led to the death of seven men and the infliction of serious wounds on thirteen. No information about those who were slightly wounded is available. We have the uncontradicted statement of Mr. Chakravarti, the then undisputed leader of the Calcutta High Court bar, who arrived at this place almost immediately, that "not one among the soldiers appeared to have been hurt in any way."

Mr. Chakravarti used his influence to quiet down the excited crowd and led it to Beadon Square where a huge crowd of nearly twenty thousand had already assembled. The meeting was an orderly one and all the speakers exhorted the audience to remain peaceful, to end the hartal and to return to their usual avocations from the next day, a request which was carried out in due course.

Bombay After Gandhiji's Arrest

When on the 10th April, 1919, news of the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi became known in Bombay, the Colaba and the Moolji Jethia cotton markets suspended business and a majority of the shops in the Indian quarters closed. Everywhere his message was read and discussed. Everywhere enquiries were made about his whereabouts. Satyagraha literature was sold, occasionally at fancy prices. The people remained unsettled till midnight when a large gathering dispersed peacefully after being addressed by Mrs. Naidu, Messrs. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Umar Sobhani and other followers of Mahatma Gandhi.

Shops remained closed on the 11th April, as also the Stock Exchanges, all the cotton markets, large and small, and the Jahavir bazar. Some of the more headstrong among the younger people stopped trams, impeded vehicular traffic coming into collision with the police more than once. There was also a certain amount of brickbat throwing met by police charges and followed by arrests.

Mahatma Gandhi got down at a quiet suburban station at about 1-30 P.M., on the 11th April, and proceeded to the house of a friend

who informed him that the news of his arrest and removal to some unknown place had incensed the people to the extent that an outbreak of violence was apprehended any moment at Pydhuni, a crowded quarter of Bombay. He at once went to this place and the people on seeing him went mad with joy. They formed a huge procession and the sky was rent with shouts of "Bande Mataram" and "Alla-ho-Akbar."

The procession was not allowed to proceed very far and was dispersed by mounted police who, according to the account given by Mahatma Gandhi in his autobiography, were armed with lances. The people were handled roughly against which Mahatma Gandhi protested to the Commissioner of Police whose office he found crowded with the military. This gentleman told him that ordinary people were not likely to remain non-violent when they were encouraged to disobey the laws of the land and that this was proved by what had happened at Ahmedabad and Amritsar. Mahatma Gandhi, ignorant of what had occurred in these towns, was stunned to hear that lives had been lost in both these places.

The same evening (11th April, 1919) Mahatma Gandhi addressed a monster meeting at the Chowpati beach in which he once again explained the meaning of Satyagraha and the correct way of applying it. Here a message of Gandhiji was read out in which he condemned the unruly conduct of the Bombay mob which had shown its displeasure at his arrest by throwing stones and obstructing tram cars and assaulting Europeans for which about 50 men had been arrested. Characterising such conduct as Duragraha, the opposite of Satyagraha, he threatened the stopping of the campaign or the offering of Satyagraha by himself against his own colleagues and followers. Asking the people to remain peaceful he said, "A Satyagrahi is pledged to non-violence, and unless people observe it in thought, word and deed, I cannot offer it truthfully."

In a short speech towards the end of the meeting, Mahatma Gandhi thanked the Governor and the police for the forbearance they had shown in not having recourse to firing to put an end to such disturbances as had occurred.

It is noteworthy that the attempts made in Bombay city to create disturbance were frustrated by the civil authorities with the help of the police and the military. With the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi at Bombay, these disorders subsided at once specially as he threw all his weight on the side of law and order.

The official pronouncement of the Government of Bombay on the matter reads as follows:

"The disturbances were attended by no fatal casualties or extensive destruction of public or private property. There was no suspension of the

normal course of administration or of civil control over law and order. Offences committed in the course of the disturbances were dealt with by the permanent magisterial courts. There was no serious dislocation for any considerable time of the normal life of the city."

The things to be noted here are that Gandhiji was all for law and order and that the military worked under the supervision of the civil authorities who, while dealing firmly with the situation which had developed, refused to be stampeded into taking any drastic steps for such regrettable events as had taken place with the result that the offenders were dealt with in the normal way.

VIOLENCE IN GUJERAT

From the account already given of the incidents which happened in the three largest and most important cities of India, after the news of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest had reached them, it is clear that such disturbances as occurred were not of a serious nature. Not a single European life was lost and there was no damage to property, private or public. Such disorders as had manifested themselves were caused by lack of control of the excitement due to the arrest of a revered leader and his removal to some unknown place. When we consider the incidents which occurred in these three cities, what strikes us is the tact and wisdom displayed by officials in handling the situation in Bombay and their lack in the other two places, the result being that, whereas there was loss of life in Calcutta and Delhi, there was none at Bombay. It is also possible that any serious deterioration in the situation at Bombay was prevented by the presence of Mahatma Gandhi there immediately after the news of his arrest had reached the place and the restraining influence it had on the rowdy element.

In Gujerat, the native province of Mahatma Gandhi, the agitation due to his arrest took a deplorable form Violence manifested itself in three places—Nadiad in Kaira District, Viramgam in Ahmedabad District and in the city of Ahmedabad itself where he had established his Ashram.

In Nadiad, District Kaira, an important railway station, about 29 miles from Ahmedabad, a train carrying troops to Ahmedabad was derailed but there was no loss of life. This was on the 12th April, 1919. Attacks were also made on railway and telegraph communications but there was no collision leading to loss of life between the troops stationed there and the public. The reason for this was that forbearance was shown by the officials who had realised that the miscreants guilty of these acts were not local people and as they had not been apprehended, they did not consider it right to hold the Nadiad public responsible for what had happened.

Gandhiji paid a visit to this place after he had finished his work at Ahmedabad. We are told in his autobiography that it was here that he first realised that he had made a mistake in asking the people to launch upon civil disobedience on a mass scale before they had been properly trained for it and in that connection he confessed that he had made a "Himalayan miscalculation." This has been used against him time and again by altering the language into "Himalayan blunder" and urging that mass action is always risky and inevitably leads to violence.

Mahatma Gandhi, however, held, as he holds now, that proper education of the masses under trained leaders by imbuing them with the principles of Satya and Ahimsa must lead to their observance in any mass struggle. He, therefore, after his return to Bombay, organised a band of Satyagrahi volunteers and with their assistance started the work of educating the people "with regard to the meaning and inner significance of Satyagraha."

The outbreak at Viramgam, about 40 miles from Ahmedabad, was more serious, being attended by attacks on railway and telegraphic communications, the destruction of Government property, arson and the murder of an Indian official holding the rank of a magistrate whose murderers could not be brought to justice for lack of adequate identification.

Trouble began on the morning of the 12th April, and was brought under control late in the evening of the same day after firing by troops summoned to this place from Ahmedabad. Six rioters were killed and eleven wounded. According to the Hunter Committee, the value of the property destroyed by the mob exceeded two lakhs of rupees.

Here too, the civil authorities retained their coolness and supervised the troops which explains the smallness of the casualties and their refusal to be tempted to punish suspects as a reprisal for the murder of an official.

The disturbances at Ahmedabad were by far the most serious in the Bombay Presidency. They started on the 10th April, 1919, as soon as news was received of the action taken against Mahatma Gandhi who had become the idol of industrial labour in that city ever since 1918, when he had led a strike by which it had secured peacefully an increase of 35 per cent in its wages. These ignorant people resented the Government order and showed their displeasure by indulging in violence. Fuel was added to their fury when some mischievous person spread the false rumour that Shrimati Anusuyaben, the President of the Labour Movement in Ahmedabad and a sister of Seth Ambalal Sarabhai, a millionaire cotton mill owner, had been arrested. The troubles lasted up to the 14th April, when they subsided with a surprising abruptness. The military was called in on the afternoon of the 10th.

There were two murders, a number of assaults on Europeans and Government officers and destruction of courts and other Government buildings. During these disturbances, telegraph wires were cut at eight places in Ahmedabad and at fourteen places outside. The value of property destroyed was nine lakhs. Firing had to be done by the armed police and the military. Among the rioters, 28 were killed and 123 wounded.

It is worth remembering that the violent acts referred to above were committed by the mob which, to all intents and purposes, had things its own way for two days. As soon as the troubles broke out at about 10 A.M. on the 10th April, 1919, the local Satyagrahis held a largely attended meeting on the bed of the Sabarmati river flowing by Ahmedabad in which speeches were made deploring Gandhiji's arrest, his message was read out and the people were exhorted not to create disturbance or to suspend work. But excitement had too strong a hold on the mob which, it transpired later on, included hooligans who did not belong to Ahmedabad. These did not pay any heed to the advice given and went their own way.

The authorities, civil and military, be it said to their credit, showed very great forbearance. The so-called martial law proclamation which will be referred to later on, was made on the 12th April, and had immediate effect. Apart from the threat of condign punishment which it held out, there was the further fact that the news of Mahatma Gandhi's return to Bombay was received on the afternoon of the same day and that it was immediately broadcast throughout the town by the local Satyagraha Sabha.

Mahatma Gandhi proceeded straight to Ahmedabad from Bombay and found a police officer waiting for him at the railway station who took him to the Commissioner of Police. We learn from his autobiography that, in the interview which followed, he made clear his eagerness to co-operate in all efforts for the restoration of peace and sought and obtained the permission of the police to hold a public meeting at Sabarmati Ashram.

The meeting in question was held on the 14th April, 1919, and was attended by very large numbers of the citizens of Ahmedabad. In the speech delivered by him on this occasion, he condemned in very strong language the violence that had manifested itself and requested his hearers to do penance by a twenty-four hours' fast and by subscribing eight annas a head for assisting the families of those who had been killed. He himself fasted for three days as he felt that he was a sharer in the guilt of the Ahmedabad labourers among whom he had spent a good deal of his time and whom he had trusted and served. He stated that it was their

immediate duty to assist towards the restoration of law and order. While advising that those who had been guilty of violence should confess their guilt and take their punishment, he also requested Government to condone the crimes as far as possible. But, to his regret, these two suggestions were not accepted. Lastly, he exhorted the labourers to resume work at once.

The effect of the speech was such that normal activities were restored immediately and martial law was at once withdrawn, thus demonstrating once more the tact and wisdom of the authorities and the strong hold Mahatma Gandhi had on the masses.

The quickness with which the situation was brought under control was, according to the Hunter Committee, due to two reasons. One of these was the proclamation issued on the 12th April, and which it was not found necessary to carry into effect that groups of more than ten men which had been declared illegal would be fired at and that "any one seen outside any house between 7 P.M., and 6 A.M., who did not stop when challenged would be shot." The other reason, to quote the language of the Government of India Despatch, dated the 3rd May, 1920, to the Secretary of State for India, was "the return of Mr. Gandhi (to Ahmedabad) who, be it said to his credit, used his influence with the people to assist the authorities to restore order," which many would regard as rather lukewarm appreciation of the services rendered by Mahatma Gandhi.

In order to complete the story, the reader has to be informed that at Ahmedabad there was no bitterness in the mind of the people though swift and condign punishment was inflicted on those guilty of murder, pillage and damage to property. This was because every one felt that disorder had occurred and had to be dealt with promptly and firmly. It was to the interest of every one that criminal violence should be punished. There was no suggestion from any quarter that injustice had been done because the public was satisfied that only those whose guilt had been clearly established had been punished. This was in vivid contrast to the method followed in the Punjab where, in the case of the guilty, punishment had invariably erred on the side of excess and where innocent and guilty alike had been treated in the same way.

It was the recognition of this fact which made the signatories to the Minority Report of the Hunter Committee admit that

"The manner in which the Bombay Government, while firmly taking adequate steps for the maintenance of peace and order in the city of Bombay and Ahmedabad and other places, avoided taking measures likely to cause public irritation and leave bitterness behind, displayed to our mind creditable statesmanship."

CONFESSION OF A DACOIT

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Keeper of the Records of the Government of India

I

MUHAMMAD HUSAIN was a common dacoit and ended, like evil folks of his ilk, at the gallows. No romance hangs about his person, and his confession, a dismal record of ruthless robbery, betrays not a trace of the chivalry, charity and daring that made popular heroes of Bishwanath of Bengal and Tanitia Bhil of Central India. One might, therefore, feel that a document of this character could very well go to the scrap heap, but I offer no apology for rescuing it from oblivion. The majority in all societies consists of the toiling masses of common men and women—the uncommonly great and the uncommonly good form the minority everywhere. What touches the common people cannot be ignored by any serious student of history, and the seemingly unimportant records of human frailties have, therefore, for him, an exceptional interest. Muhammad Husain's confession throws a flood of lurid light on the administration of those days. He and his friends had a merry time at the expense of the peaceful population of the rural area, and the responsible authorities stood helpless not because they were indifferent to the cause of peace and order, but because their own agents had proved utterly faithless and untrustworthy. Muhammad Hayat, Muhammad Husain's employer, was himself a police officer, but he soon discovered that the abuse of his office and power was likely to bring him more lucre than the loyal pursuit of his lawful avocation. The Zemindars, the natural guardians of rural peace, had lost their former influence and prestige under the new dispensation, and the less scrupulous of the order had turned to robbery as a fruitful source of profit and power. Muhammad Husain mentions three such scapegraces: Ghulam Haidar Chaudhuri of Pargana Bhulua, Kirtinarain Roy of Ratandi Kalikapur and Ainuddin Shikdar, an influential Talukdar of Tappa Shafipur. Ainuddin led a party of dacoits in person, if Muhammad Husain is to be credited, while Muhammad Hayat and Kirtinarain preferred to share the spoils with the criminals under their control. It is to be noted that Muhammad Husain began by apprehending some dacoits, but the booty he claims to have recovered bears no comparison with the property of which he and his gang relieved their victims.

The inventories of the spoils deserve a careful scrutiny. Cowrie shells were in common use. The Vaidya Chaudhuri of Dashkatha (Dosskatta) had no less than five *Kahans* (6,400) in his hoard which included three thousand rupees in cash. Bullion seems to have been preferred to coins by the rich people of those days—one of the Potdars, robbed by Ainuddin's gang, had no less than forty-one seers of gold in his possession. Silver ornaments seem to have been more in fashion even among the wealthier classes, for we read of silver *paichi* (Ponchee), silver bangles, silver chains and *taktis* (tuctees, diamond-shaped pendants), silver bracelets, silver rings, silver *kankan* (Kungan), silver *gujris* ((Koogrow, or Kharu?) and one family had silver ornaments to the weight of four or five seers. The *nath* (Nuth) or nose-ring, however, was invariably in gold. This testifies to the superstition still current that the breath of a wife is likely to affect her husband's health if she respires over him without some gold in the nose. Brass plates, *cuttorahs* (bowls and cups) and dishes, are not much in use to-day in well-to-do houses. Brass has been replaced by the brighter and more lasting bell-metal and "*Tootenague*" dishes have absolutely disappeared though brass *lootahs* (lotas) still hold the field. It is to be noted that shawls seldom figure among the loots of Muhammad Husain, and it may be presumed that the fine products of the Kashmir looms were by no means common in the villages of Bakarganj and the contiguous part of Noakhali, though silk seems to have been much more in demand. Henry Lodge, before whom Muhammad Husain made his statement, was appointed Commissioner of Sunderbans for suppression of robberies in November, 1788. He had his headquarters at Bakarganj and apprehended about 154 dacoits. Muhammad Husain and two of his confederates, Nabi Khan and Munir, suffered the extreme penalty with other Sirdars. Muhammad Hayat, the brain of the gang and Ainuddin Shikdar, an active participant in its misdeeds, were transported to Prince of Wales Island (Penang). The gang operated over a wide area stretching from the banks of the Baleswar in Bakarganj District to Bhulua Pargana in the neighbouring District of Noakhali. It has not been possible to identify all the villages mentioned in the statement, as the Persian original has been lost and the eighteenth century English transliteration is not always helpful. I am indebted to Mr. F. O. Bell, I.C.S., the present Magistrate of Bakarganj, and Mr. B. B. Chakravarti, B.L., Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal, for valuable topographical and historical information. It is possible that in the course of the last 150 years some of the villages visited by Muhammad Husain and his friends have been washed away, and some of the families robbed by them have become extinct. But there may be cases of survival, and many rural

families of Bakarganj and Noakhali will doubtless be interested in a document in which their native villages and probably some of their ancestors so prominently figure.

II

Translation of a Deposition from Mahomed Hossein taken before Henry Lodge, Esqr. received 23rd January, 1789. Deposition of Mahomed Hossein, Inhabitant of Deolea in Pergunnah Ruttundee Calcapore, made on the 14th January, 1789 or 17th Rubee ulsaany, at Bakergunge—

Mr. Wroughton[1] gave the Girdwary of the Fouzedarry to Mahomed Hyat[2] in the month of Sawun, and Mahd. Hyat nominated me to that office on his part. I went to Luckepore[3] accompanied by 650 people in 25 Pulwars[4] and 4 Bhauleas[5] and in the village Mozaldie[6] I seized Mahobut ulla and Mahomed Sadue two Decoits and found in their House 11 Bundles of Tobacco, 22 Seers of oil, 4 spears, 2 Hindostanny Muskets and a bundle of Cloaths and two Boats. Afterwards I seized Malgaazp a Decoit in the village Churbhato,[7] and found in his House two Bundles of Cloths, 100 Rs. in cash, 5 Spears, 2 Hindostanny Muskets, 2 Tootenague and Brass dishes, Cows, a Paundaun,[8] and Cuttoras,[9] 2 golden Jewels, 1 Silver Ponchee.[10] I then seized Sunna Ulla, a Decoit in the village Raytah[11] and found in his House two Tootenague and Brass dishes, 50 Rupees, one Bundle of Cloaths, 3 Buffaloes, 1 Boat, 2 Swords and 2 Targets, 2 Hindostanny Muskets and one Spear—afterwards I took at the same place Poona ulla and Ramdhun Jody two Decoits, and found in their Houses 9 Rupees, 5 pieces of Cloaths, 2 Brass Lootahs[12] and Cuttorahs, one Bundle of Cloaths, a gold nutt[13] and 80 Head of Cattle—I then went to Luckipoor, and gave over to Rammohun, Dewan to Sheik Mahomed Hyat, the Decoits and Money and Effects which I had taken. After this I seized, Golaum Hyder Choudry, name of a Zamindar of Pergunnahs Bulwa,[14] who is a Dacoit. He had four gold and silver Rings on his hands and I sent the man with the Rings to Dacca; and

1 George Wrougton—Company's Attorney retired in 1788.
2 Muhammad Hayat was a native of Doomki in Pargana Azimpur.
3 Probably Lakshmipur under Galachipa Police station in Patuakhali Subdivision.
4 Palwar—a country boat of from 15 to 20 tons.
5 Bhaulia—a broad bottomed boat.
6 Is it Char Mojlaji in Tozumaddin P.S or Char Mollaji ?
7 Cannot be identified Char Bhuta did not exist at the time,
8 Pandaun—a dish for betel leaves and necessary ingredients.
9 Cups and bowls.
10 Paichi—an ornament for the arms.
11 Either Rohita in Mathbaria P.S. or Rohita in Bhola P.S.
12 Small water pots.
13 A nosering.
14 Bhulua Pargana in Noakhali District.

went according to the orders of Mahomed Hyat, to Luckipoor to Seize Soorut Sing and Golay Fuckeer, but could not find them. In the month of Jyte, accompanied by the Consuma of Mahomed Hyat named [15] and Chandoomean with 40 People to the House of Mahomed Heneef Choudry in Pergunnah Serail,[16] attacked it, and plundered it of 10,000 Rupees—again in the month of Assar, attended by the same Number of People, we went to Shegarkattoo,[17] attacked the House of Rubbie ulla, and plundered it of 5,000 Rupees—again in the month of Shawun we attacked, with 85 People, the House of Summa ulla Choudry in the village of Chougdea[18] and plundered it of 700 Rupees—again in the Same Month, Sawun, we attacked the House of a Mahajan in a village, whose name I do not recollect, to the Northward of Pergunnah Rajenagur,[19] and found 50 Rupees, 4 Tootenague and Brass Dishes, and 2 Bundles of Cloaths. In the Month of Assin we plundered 2 Boats laden with 500 Maunds of Grain, in the village Mogaldie—and in the Month of Shawun the Consumah and the same number of People with us attacked the House of anuntram Fotadar in a village to the Northward of Shawabadpoor,[20] and plundered it of 10,000 Rupees and four Bundles of Cloaths. Last year in the Month of Aughun, we attacked the House of a Choudry at Sundeep [21] plundered it of 10,000 Rupees, four Bundles of Cloaths and 11 Tootenague Dishes, and four Brass Plates, a Brass Paundaun, 2 Silver Toys weighing 3 or 4 Seer, about half a Seer of Gold Toys with 4 Anna and 8 Anna pieces, about 2 pun.[22] In the Month of Sawun at Soona Raanoo,[23] the Consuma and I with the same number of People attacked the House of Sunna ulla Choudry, plundered 11000 Rupees, four Bundles of Silks. 2 Shawls, a pair of Silver Bangles, 8 Necklaces, 40 Pannas or Tuctees,[24] with the silver Chains and pieces of gold about 10 Bourys,[25] 4 pair of Ear Rings and 4 pair of Silver Bracelets, 8 pair of Silver Rings, Ornaments to the Legs, 4 Tootenague Dishes, 4 Brass plates, 4 Brass Cuttorahs, 3 Brass Ewers, 20 Silver Rings and 4 pair of Silver Kungun [26]—we plundered all these things. In the Month of Bhadun, Mahomed ally Brother of Mahomed Kullem Gaazy Mahomed, etc., Inhabitants of

15 There is a gap here, but elsewhere the Khansama is called Boloo.
16 There is no such Pargana either in Bakarganj or in Noakhali.
17 Seems to be Shekherkati in Nalchiti P.S.
18 Probably Jagdia in Noakhali.
19 Rajnagar. No. 41 of Beveridge's list.
20 Shabazpur
21 An island and Pargana in Noakhali.
22 A pan=80.
23 Cannot be identified.
24 Takti—a diamond shaped pendant.
25 One Buri=20.
26 Kankan—a sort of bracelet.

Bhaatssalla[27] and Noor ulla Moonshee, Brother of Khoorshied Moonshee of Behadrepoor,[28] who had with him 40 People, going 80 Person in each Boat, and having 6 Boats, we went to the Eastward of Luckipoor, about a Day and Half's Journey, to a village called Muttulub[29] in Pergunnah Bulwa Jougdea, to the House of a Mussulman Choudry, and plundered it of 13,000 Rupees, silver ornaments weighing about 4 or 5 Seer, 12 pairs of Silver rings for the 30 Feet,[30] 7 Bundles of Cloths, 2 pieces of Silk Chouly,[31] 2 Tootenague Dishes, 4 pair of Silver ornaments called Koogrow.[32] Last year in the Month of Aughun, with the same people, we went to the Eastward of the Balsore[33] River to the west of Chandpara,[34] to the Village Dosskatta,[35] to the House of Bied[36] Choudry, and plundered it of 3000 Rupees, 5 Bundles of white Cloths and Chouly, 5 Seer of ornaments & 74 gold Nutts, 20 Silver rings, 1 Maund of Cotton, 5 Cawn[37] of Cowries, 10 Seir of Salt; and one Jar of oil. This year, in the Month of Shawun, Ein ul Dein Sheikdar with 27 People, Nubby Khan and his son Zoorawar Khan of Chultaburrea,[38] Khunjur Khan and his son, 27 People, 13 Dandies[39] and 2 Boats. 12 Dandies and 2 Boats, in all 4 Boats. I was in the Boat with Nubby Khan, went to Roopoor[40] to the House of a Fotadar and plundered 15,000 Rs. in 5 Bags which we took from a Chest, a Bag of Silver, about 1 Md. one Seer of Gold, 4 Bundles of Cloths, one Bundle of Silk Sarris—we then came to the Mouth of the Balesore River and divided the plunder among us. Ein ul Dein Shiekdar[40a] received about 5,000 Rupees and a Half, the Gold, Silver Shawls and Cloths Khunjier Khan and his son received 5,000 Rupees, and I received 2,000 Rupees. I went to Barrycurn,[40b] and the Shiekdar & ca went home. I am a Servant of Mahomed Hyat who Stationed Rammohun Dewan, Baloo Kanseman and Chandoo Mean with 40 people with me, and told me to go with them. I went with them to all these places, robbed, and brought these things and money with me—and at one time I gave Mahomed Hyat 5,000 Rupees and at another 20,000 Rupees. Boloo

27 Bhatsala in Bakarganj P.S.

28 Bahadurpur, there are several villages of this name. Bahadurpur in Bakarganj P.S. is probably meant.

29 Cannot be identified.

30 Probably *mal*.

31 A short bodice or breast piece worn by ladies.

32 Probably Gujri, a sort of anklet.

33 The Baleswar forms the western boundary of Bakarganj District and is also called Haringhata and Madhumati.

34 Cannot be identified.

35 Cannot be identified.

36 Vaidya.

37 Kahan=1280.

38 Probably Chaltabunia. There are three villages of the same name in Mathbaria, Patuakhali and Amtali Police stations.

39 Rowers.

40 Cannot be identified.

40a Ainuddin was a resident of Chamta near Niamati and had Taluks in Buzurgumedpur Pargana.

40b Baraikaran in Nalchiti P.S. was at one time the headqurtaers of the District.

Conseman took 500 Maunds of rice. Rammohun Dewan took 5,000 Rupees—Mahomed Ally, Brother to Mahomed Kullean, was with him, and took in the Months of Bhadun and Aughun 5,000 Rupees from the village Dossparra [41] and Golay Doss and [42] Deegpara is the Mohrir [43] of Mahomed Hyat—he took 2,000 Rupees. Mahomed Muneer Brother to Ruffee Hircarrah of Behadrepore was with him, he took at one time 3,000 Rupees and at another 1,100. Roshun Ally Hircarrah of Chawculdea in Pergunnah Deccan shabazpore[44] was with him. He took 1,000 Rupees. Noor Ulla Hircarrah of Balea [44a] and Brother of Mahomed Suffy Jemautdar were with him and took 500 Rupees. Kallabad Hircarrah of Ootershawabadpore [45] was with him he took 2,000 Rupees. Rehmut ulla Hercarrah of Hany Choula in Pergunnah Idlepore [46] was with him, and took Rs. 2000—Sunnaulla Rercarrah of Idlepore was with him, and took 700 Rupees. Ruttun Hercarrah of Joosha [47] was with him and took 1,100 Rupees. Govindram Hercarrah is the Gomastah[48] of Mahomed Hyat, he took 2,000 Rupees. Gaazy Mahomed of Bhaatsalla was with him, and took 2,500 Rupees. Burkut ulla Hercarrah of Bhaatsalla was with him, and took 2,500 Rupees. Mahomed Ally of Kelladooma[49] was with him and took 650 Rupees. Sheer Ally of Kishenkatty[50] was with him, and took on his own account and that of Ally Rajah his brother, 600 Rupees. Kerritnarain Roy Zemindar of Pergunnah Ruttendee Calcapore, [51] I am his Ryott, he sent a Peon to my House and ordered me to give him 2,000 Rupees or he would disgrace me and take it. He is Zemindar, and I am Ryott—I therefore gave him 2,000 Rupees. I have heard from Rubbel ulla of Koolkatty[52] in Selemabad[53] that Ghazimahomed of Bhatsall and Sheer Ally of Kishenkatty and Mahomed Ally of Kelladoma these Sardars with 40 people in 3 Boats went from the village Nullpunea[54] to Backergunge[55] and plundered the House of Ramdeo Fotadar of 4 or 5,000 Rupees. Rubbe ulla told me this at the Cutcherry [56] at Barrycurin. I asked him what he had received he said Rs. 3.

41 Daspara in P.S. Bauphal.
42 A mistake for "of"
43 Clerk.
44 Dakhin Shabazpur Pargana No. 11 of Mr. Beveridge's list.
44a Probably Balia in Mehendiganj P.S.
45 Uttar Shabazpur Pargana No. 10 of Beveridge's list.
46 Idilpur No. 6 of Beveridge, now mostly in Faridpur district
47 Cannot be identified.
48 Agent.
49 Probably Kaladeii in Barisal P.S.
50 Krishnakati in Jhalakati P.S.
51 Ratandi Kalikapur No. 9 of Beveridge.
52 Kulkati in Nalchiti P.S.
53 Salimabad Pargana 4 of Beveridge.
54 There are three villages called Nalbunia in Jhalkati, Mathbaria and Nalchiti Police stations.
55 The District derives its name from this place which once was its headquarters.
56 Kachari—office.

TRIAL AND DEATH OF SIR JOHN ELIOT, THE ENGLISH SOCRATES OF THE 17TH CENTURY

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TUDOR Despotism in England in the 16th century did much to promote the general happiness of the English people, but very little to secure the essentials of freedom. Power of the omnicompetent Tudor state was better employed than before, but that power did not recognise one essential limitation in the sphere of civil liberties; it did not voluntarily impose upon itself limits of state interference, it did not abdicate, it did not know the technique of withdrawing itself from the field of action. This was the real tyranny of Tudor times; individual life, liberty, property and conscience were as nothing compared with the interests of the state. The state was strong, unprincipled and efficient. Order was regarded as Heaven's first law; and Tudor dictatorship was perhaps over-enthusiastic in the enforcement of law and order.

Tudor absolutism had its critics in the country. On 8th February, 1576, Peter Wentworth, a member from an obscure Cornish borough, in the House of Commons, endeavoured to draw the attention of the House to the problem of liberty in the Tudor state. He spoke as follows: "Mr. Speaker, I find written in a little volume these words in effect: Sweet is the name of liberty, but the thing itself a value beyond all inestimable treasure. So much the more it behoveth us to take care lest we, contenting ourselves with the sweetness of the name, lose and forego the thing, being of the greatest value that can come unto this noble realm. The inestimable treasure is the use of it in this House."[1] For these "unreverent and undutiful words uttered by him" in the House of Commons, Peter Wentworth was "sequestered" and sent to the Tower of London. Undaunted Wentworth disregarding royal warning, had the temerity to raise the question of liberty on two more occasions in the House in 1587 and 1593, but both the times he was arrested and condemned to the Tower. He died a prisoner in the Tower of London in 1596—the first martyr to the cause of parliamentary and civil liberties in England. The tremendous majesty of kingly power apparently triumphed for the time being. "Truth for ever on the scaffold, wrong

[1] D'Ewes, Journal, pp. 236-44; Tanner, Tudor Constitutional Documents, p. 537.

for ever on the throne," as a famous historian has pointed out, is not perhaps a false caricature of that time.

The House of Commons at the beginning of the 17th century could register only a feeble protest against the system of Tudor government, in their *Apology* meant for presentation to James I. In this document the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, put on record their unfortunate experience during one hundred years of Tudor rule, in the following terms: "The prerogatives of princes may easily, and do daily grow: the privileges of the subject are for the most part at an everlasting stand. They may be by good providence and care preserved, but being once lost are not recovered but with much disquiet."[1] Herein the Commons struck the key-note of the problem confronting them throughout the 17th century. People's rights, liberties and privileges needed constant attention; they could be preserved and developed only by earnest care and unremitting toil. They required the patient and devoted services of men pledged to their fulfilment. Moral and political principles in the history of mankind are the slow and painful achievement of years of hard labour.

Fortunately for England, there arose in the ranks of Parliament in the 17th century, wise and patriotic men who saw in the claim of the royal prerogative a seminal principle of mischief, the germ of unjust power. These men held their principle of liberty so sacred and so clear that they were prepared to sacrifice their lives, their families and their fortune for it. One such patriot was Sir John Eliot who pledged his life, honour and fortune, in the reign of Charles I, to the noble and heroic task of securing the political and civil liberties of the English people against the king's tyranny, and suffered ruin and extinction. He died a lingering death in the Tower of London on 27th November, 1632, calling himself, in his last days, the Socrates of the people of England. Sir John Eliot chose to die in prison in the hands of victorious enemies rather than deny the principles of freedom. He died so that the people in England might live in independence, so that the rights and liberties of the posterity of the English people might be preserved.

Eliot was born in April, 1592, at Port Eliot in Cornwall. On December 4, 1607, he matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, where he remained three years and conducted his studies with wonderful thoroughness. Plato, Seneca and Cicero were constantly on his lips as the Puritans had the Bible on theirs, and his eloquence marks the beginning of

[1] Prothero, Select Statutes and Documents, p. 289—Apology of the House of Commons, June 20, 1604.

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parliamentary oratory in England. It is interesting to observe that two other great parliamentary leaders—leaders of democratic thought and action in the 17th century, Pym and Hampden—were also products of the University of Oxford, and they were at Oxford at about the same time. Pym was at Broadgate Hall, afterwards called Pembroke, in 1599, and Hampden at Magdalen in 1609. Oxford was then, as it has always been more or less, a stronghold of royalist absolutism. In the Great Civil War of the 17th century, Oxford capitulated last to the victorious parliamentary forces. During the last years of the reign of Charles II, the Tories and the priests of Oxford made themselves the theoretical champions and the political agents of despotism, while the University itself regularly and openly proclaimed the doctrine of unconditional "non-resistance." On 21st July, 1683, when Lord Russell died on the scaffold, a martyr to freedom, the University of Oxford solemnly consigned the leading Whig writings in defence of freedom to the flames, and prohibited all students from reading them.[1] Thus the intellectual influences, as also the ecclesiastical influences of Oxford, which exercised an overwhelming control over the great mass of the English people were eminently inimical to freedom in the 17th century. Nor is the record of Oxford much better in the 18th and 19th centuries. John Wesley, the founder of the Methodist movement in the 18th century, was not appreciated at all in his own University, which repudiated him, and Oxford, though it had been the cradle, was the most virulent opponent of Methodism. In the 19th century, again, Oxford failed to understand the genius and greatness of her most distinguished son, Gladstone, who was compelled to offer himself as a parliamentary candidate for South Lancashire, being "*unmuzzled*," after defeat at Oxford, in July, 1865.

Bred in the atmosphere of the University of Oxford in the 17th century, Eliot, Pym and Hampden could nevertheless rise above their surroundings and environments. Their Oxford education did not make them unfit for dealing with the problems of national reconstruction that confronted them in the reign of Charles I. On the other hand, because of of that education, they could perhaps see deeper into the real needs of their country.

Eliot had begun his political career very early in his life. He sat in two Parliaments of James I, and he was also a member of every Parliament of Charles I that met up to the 2nd March, 1629. Early in the reign of Charles I, Eliot had arrived at certain definite political conclusions. He

[1] Lecky, History of England in the 18th Century, Vol. I, p. 11; Trevelyan, The English Revolution, pp. 36-37; Holdsworth, History of English Law, Vol. VI, pp. 190-91.

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dreaded the Molloch of encroaching Stuart Monarchy, and he was anxious to find remedies. He was an idealist. He idealized the House of Commons as the embodiment of the collective wisdom of the nation and as the best security for the rights and liberties of the English people. Parliament was to him the mirror of the national will and the guardian of ancient law. His whole soul was moved by the manifest misgovernment that was going on before his eyes. In the second Parliament of Charles, in 1626, Eliot held the King's favourite minister, the Duke of Buckingham, responsible for the people's sufferings. Reform was absolutely needed, a reform to which the expulsion of Buckingham from power would be the first step. Eliot, therefore, took up with earnestness the task of preparing charges against Buckingham for his impeachment before the House of Lords. "In his lofty ideal, in his high disdain for that which he regarded as worthless, in his utter fearlessness and disregard of all selfish considerations," says S. R. Gardiner, "Eliot was the Milton, as Bacon had been almost the Shakespeare, of politics." [1]

Buckingham was impeached before the Lords in May, 1626, and Eliot was appointed one of the eight managers on behalf of the Commons to read and to explain the charges to the Lords. Eliot's speech on Buckingham's impeachment is by far the best speech in the history of British eloquence in the 17th century. "Nothing can surpass its fire, its terse eloquence, and its burning indignation. The man who could make such a speech upon such a topic could expect no mercy from such a king as Charles." [2]

But Eliot was fearless and unmoved. It was characteristic of him to approach the subject from the moral rather than the political standpoint. "He called upon every man to profess openly, in the eye of day," says Gardiner, "his personal conviction of right as the basis of action. With such a faith, whatever mistakes Eliot might commit in the immediate present, he had raised a standard for the future which could never be permanently dragged in the dust. Not in fidelity to constitutional arrangements, not in obedience to the orders of a king, or in obedience to the votes of a Parliament, lay the secret of political capacity. The ideal statesman was to be the man who had the open eye to discern his country's wants, the tongue to speak freely the counsel which his mind had conceived, and the heart and the resolution to suffer, if not to die, in the defence of his belief." [3] Such a statesman was Sir John Eliot. As he truly said in his *Apology for Socrates* written during his last days

1 S. R. Gardiner, History of England, 1603-1642, Vol. VI, p. 103.
2 Holdsworth, History of English Law, Vol. VI, p. 106.
3 S. R. Gardiner, History of England, 1603-1642, Vol. VI, p. 104.

in the Tower, he suffered and died a lingering death for the service of the people, to preserve for them and their posterity the rights and liberties of English citizens.

For the tartness of his language on the impeachment of Buckingham, Eliot was imprisoned and detained in the Tower, but the House of Commons took up the King's challenge. The House broke up in discontent on account of this unexpected attack upon the liberties of Parliament. "The King," wrote one of the Commons to a friend, in speaking of Eliot's imprisonment, "hath sent him to the Tower for some words spoken in Parliament, but we are all resolved to have him out again, or will proceed to no business." [1] The King was, therefore, compelled to set Eliot at liberty. Eliot was thus restored to his place in the House of Commons and was unanimously cleared of all the imputations brought against him.

But his suffering was not at an end. He found that the prerogatives of the King did daily grow—prerogatives which tended to alter the life, liberty and property of the subject. Eliot could not remain a silent and passive spectator of all these happenings. He registered his vehement protest against the high-handedness of the executive and suffered imprisonment on two more occasions between 1626 and 1628. But his greatest suffering, the noblest of all, was yet to come. In the third Parliament of Charles on 2nd March, 1629, Eliot was determined to propose certain definite remedies for the King's continued misgovernment. He knew that Charles would try to thwart his plans by an adjournment order which the Speaker of the House of Commons would be bound to obey. His object now was to obtain a few minutes before the adjournment so that he might urge the House to appeal from the King to the country. When the House met in the morning of 2nd March, Sir John Finch, the Speaker, at once declared the King's order that the House should be adjourned to some other date. As soon as the Speaker signified this command to the House, he was met with loud shouts of 'No! No!'. The Speaker, thereupon, moved to leave the Chair, but two members of the House of Commons, Holles and Valentine, stepped forward, held the Speaker by the arms and thrust him back into the chair. Eliot now spoke indignantly against the King's attempt to disperse Parliament. He declared that it was "the fundamental liberty of the House" that it had always adjourned by its own order. "None have gone about to break Parliaments," he said in this his last speech in the House of Commons, "but in the end Parliaments have broken them. The examples of all ages confirm it. The fates in that hold correspondency with justice.

[1] Forster, Sir John Eliot, Vol. I, p. 561.

No man was ever blasted in this House but a curse fell upon him." [1] After this speech, three important resolutions which were framed by Sir John Eliot for the redress of the nation's grievances were declared carried "by the shouts of the angry members, thronging and swaying round the chair into which they had forced back the frightened Speaker, whilst the blows of King's officers without resounded on the fastened door. When they had so voted, they flung all open and poured out flushed into the cold air of heaven, freemen still and already almost rebels." [2]

It was now the King's turn to take the offensive. Eliot and eight other ringleaders of the Commons including John Selden were arrested and committed to the Tower. Many of the prisoners made submission and obtained release. Even Selden, one of the most learned lawyers of the age, the hero of Selden Society in England, got release by recantation. "Intellectually audacious," says Gardiner, "he needed the applause of a favouring audience to inspire him to resist authority. He boldly assured his examiners that he was in absolute ignorance of all that had passed on the eventful morning. If he had understood Eliot's speech, 'he would have absolutely dissented from him.' The falsehood was so unblushing that it can hardly be reckoned as a falsehood at all." [3] Selden deeply felt his separation from his books and his pen, and he was anxious to recover the use of them as soon as possible.

Eliot was strong where Selden was weak. He was not the man to falter or to flinch before danger. He knew what Selden never learned—that England required men who could suffer for her rights more than men who could defend them in argument. To every question that was put to him regarding his conduct he had but one reply to give: "I refuse to answer, because I hold that it is against the privilege of the House of Parliament to speak of anything which was done in the House." [4] No wonder that the entire indignation of the King was now turned against Eliot. "The whole conflict between Crown and Parliament" says Gardiner, "appeared to be summed up in this duel between two men, of whom one was armed to the teeth, and the other was a defenceless captive at his feet." [5] In a proclamation issued on March 27, 1629, Charles spoke of Eliot as "an outlawed man, desperate in mind and fortune." In these circumstances, the verdict of the court of King's Bench, in which an information was exhibited against Eliot by Sir Robert

1 Commons Debates for 1629, edited by Notestein and Relf (published by the University of Minnesota, 1921), pp. 252-67.
2 Trevelyan, History of England under the Stuarts, p. 155.
3 Gardiner, History of England, 1603-1642, Vol. VII. p. 80.
4 Cobbett, State Trials, Vol. III, p. 294.
5 Gardiner, History of England, 1603-1642, Vol. VII. p. 81.

Heath, the King's Attorney-General, was a foregone conclusion. The Stuart judiciary had neither honesty nor independence. The judgment of the court was that Sir John Eliot should be imprisoned in the Tower of London during the King's pleasure, and that Sir John Eliot, being "the greatest offender and ringleader," should pay to the king a fine of two thousand pounds.[1] He was not to be released from prison without acknowledgment of his offence and security for good behaviour.

In the Tower of London Sir John Eliot passed the few years of life that were left to him. He knew that he had no mercy to expect from Charles. It was from his lips that the challenge to the King's authority had first come. Perhaps the last trial of his patience was that he was deserted in the hour of supreme crisis and suffering by those comrades who had stood shoulder to shoulder with him in the excitement of battle. "Yet, even for them he had no word of reproof, as he had no word of regret for his own calamities. He was still in the prime of life—only thirty-eight years of age—when liberty is sweet. But like Luther at Worms, it was not in him to do otherwise than he did. A word of submission would have set him free to revisit his Cornish home and the dear ones whom it contained. That word he would not speak."[2] He heard in prison that England was sinking to its rest, but he was not shaken in his purpose, he was unmoved by the different course followed by his friends. He believed in his mission as nobody else in England believed at that time. "It is not the function of whole classes to suffer ruin and extinction in mere passive resistance," says Professor G. M. Trevelyan, "but to preserve their strength together with their opinions against the hour of fight, when sacrifice will lead to immediate victory. Martyrdom is for individuals. But the class which cannot produce a few martyrs will never produce many fighters. Eliot knew this well."[3] Winds might shift, tides might ebb and flow, even the boat might swing, but Eliot was always at anchor. He steadfastly adhered to his beliefs and ideals. He was convinced that a man's first principles were ill chosen if fidelity to their essence and foundations came to be overclouded by the falling mists of afternoon.

Eliot had, however, some friends who were struck with admiration at his courage and self-sacrifice. One such friend was Kirton who wrote to Eliot in March, 1630, as follows: "The judgment upon you is blown amongst us with wonder attending it. For my own part I can wonder at nothing; but I think that that man, who doth not take your judgment

[1] Cobbett, State Trials. Vol. III, p. 310.
[2] Gardiner, History of England, Vol. VII, pp. 120-21.
[3] Trevelyan, History of England under the Stuarts, p. 159.

as in part a judgment upon himself, doth fail either in honesty or discretion."[1]

Many years were to pass before Sir John Eliot's principles were fully understood or appreciated by the English nation. The mass of the people is never moved by the fear of evils or dangers that may come in the unknown future. To the ploughman in the villages as he tilled his soil, to the trader as he looked for customers in his shop, to the busy lawyer as he earned his living in the King's courts, to the University teacher as he uttered with great gusto a lot of spineless platitudes in his classes, it was nothing that the prerogatives of the king might at some future time invade his liberty and property. The intelligent classes and the bulk of the nation did not as yet realise the necessity of defying the King. To Eliot belongs the glory of being the first statesman to see plainly the issues at stake. "It was for him to suffer," says Gardiner, "as those suffer who see that which their fellows cannot see. Like the Swiss warrior, he had gathered into his own bosom the spear-points of the adverse host. His countrymen would follow by-and-by through the breach which he had made at the cost of his life."[2]

In December, 1631, there were rumours of an approaching meeting of Parliament. Men's minds now turned instinctively to the prisoner in the Tower who would once more become a power in the land. Eliot did not trust these rumours. For himself he had no hope in this life. He knew that no earthly consideration short of absolute compulsion would induce Charles to meet another Parliament. Yet he never doubted that some day or other that necessity would arise. He drew up, in these years in the Tower, a historical sketch of the doings of the first Parliament of Charles which he named, significantly enough, *Negotium Posterorum*. He thus bequeathed his own example to generations coming, nothing doubting that the unconquerable spirit of England would not be extinguished for ever by the heavy weight of silence under which the voice of his country was choked for a time. He would not be the counsellor of compromise. He felt that the misgovernment of Charles was depressing and ruining law and liberty. The design of the government, he said, was not merely to corrupt the stream and fountain of liberty for a time only, but "wholly to impeach its course, to make the fountain dry, to dam and stop it up for ever." Parliament, he added, was the sanctuary of liberty, the guardian of "the rubrics of the law." Such were Eliot's last words on politics; such was the standard which he set up for his countrymen. "In him," says Gardiner, "spoke the

[1] Gardiner. History of England, Vol. VII, p. 121.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 122.

voice of a mighty nation, conscious of its powers and impatient of the tutelage under which it had been thrust ".

Charles had no intention of allowing Eliot ever again to raise his voice in opposition. On December 21, 1631, came an order from the Privy Council to the Tower restraining access of persons to Eliot. This was not all. "My lodgings," he wrote on the 26th December, "are removed, and I am now where candle-light may be suffered, but scarce fire." [1] And this was in the cold Christmas-weather of London. Eliot had not many more days of life before him. He soon contracted consumption from his cold and unhealthy quarters in the Tower. But he remained a cheerful invalid and spent his time in writing his *Apology for Socrates* from which the following noble and pathetic lines may be recalled:

"*I will not enumerat his passions to tell you what he suffered; what he suffered in his fortune, what he suffered in his person, in his liberty, in his life: to be made poore and naked; to be imprisoned and restrained; nay not to be at all; not to have the proper use of anythinge, not to have knowledge of Societie; not to have beinge and existence: his faculties confiscat; his friends debarred his presence; himselfe deprived the world: I will not tell you of all this suffered by your Socrates, all this suffered for your service.....for your children, your posteritie, to preserve your rights and liberties that as they were the inheritance of your fathers, from you likewise they may again devolve to them.*" [2]

The English Socrates was thus prepared to sacrifice everything and even to lay down his life for generations yet unborn in England. He became a martyr to defend the free and living spirit of man against the pressure of misinterpreted legal obligations.

The rigours of his prison-house in the Tower could not break that dauntless spirit, but they killed him. In October, 1632, a petition was addressed to the king by his son and some of his friends for a change of air. But Charles had determined that if Eliot would not retract he might die. Eliot also was determined not to save his life by an acknowledgment that he had erred. A few days later, on November 27, 1632, the spirit of Sir John Eliot, unbroken by captivity, passed away from amongst living men. A last request from his son, to be allowed to convey his father's body to Port Elliot to be given a burial there in the family burial ground, met with a curt refusal from Charles. "Let Sir John Eliot be buried in the church of that parish where he died," answered the pitiless man, who was one day himself to appeal for pity to all peoples and ages. So Eliot was buried in some neglected spot in the Tower, and no stone

[1] Forster. Sir John Eliot, Vol. II, p. 448.
[2] Eliot, Apology for Socrates, p. 30; Holdsworth, History of English Law, Vol. VI, p. 106.

marks the spot where he lies. A few days before he died, Eliot sent for an artist to the Tower to paint his picture. He asked the painter to reproduce upon canvas his pale, emaciated, wan features which were all his reward for his heroic courage, persistency and determination. He stands in a white frilled dressing-gown, with a comb in his hand and hair falling over his eyes, "a cheerful invalid," says Prof. Trevelyan, "not asking for our pity. He left to his descendants that one patient, humourous appeal against the tyranny that took away his life." [1]

"The tragedy of Eliot's death in the tower and the eleven years of prerogative rule, drew attention to the defects of the purely legal opposition to the Crown, which had characterised the first stage of the constitutional conflict." [2] Eliot's comrades were now left with Pym at their head to vindicate the honour of the dead martyr, and before long they warned the king in words, destined to bear a terrible meaning, that "Eliot's blood still cried for vengeance or for repentance." [3] They resolved "to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for the blood he had shed."

History does not record any evidence of "repentance" on the part of Charles for the crucifixion of the flesh of Eliot, but the English Parliament exacted "vengeance" in an ample measure. On the day of his execution, January 30, 1649, Charles, as he looked out into eternity, proclaimed from the scaffold with his dying breath:—"For the people truly I desire their liberty and freedom as much as anybody whatsoever..... I am the martyr of the people." This claim needs examination. Poet Lionel Johnson in his poem, *By the Statue of King Charles at Charing Cross*, passes the judgment:

"Vanquished in life, his death
By beauty made amends."

But these lines perhaps arise from the tender susceptibilities of a poet's heart. The judgment of sober and impartial history ought to be guided by other canons. It may, however, be pertinent, in this connection, to refer to the verdict of another literary artist, Alfieri, who says in the fanciful dedication of his play of *Agis* to Charles, "one can in no way make a tragedy of your tragical death, for the cause of it was not sublime." For our part, we may hold our judgment and only remember that in the days of the blackest ruin and shame that ever befell the cause of freedom in England, Eliot regarded liberty as a religion for which he cheerfully made the supreme sacrifice by laying down his life, because without liberty life is nothing.

[1] Trevelyan, History of England under the Stuarts, p. 159.
[2] Holdsworth, History of English Law, Vol. VI, p. 106.
[3] Article 15 of the Grand Remonstrance, 1641, presented to the King.

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PREVENTION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

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DELINQUENCY is a part of the total stream of individual's life activities—a response to inner and outer pressures. The individual has fundamental wishes as driving forces. When these wishes are thwarted the individual has a feeling of inadequacy and jealousy and he seeks substitutive satisfaction. Whether these substitutive activities will be anti-social or not depends upon external circumstances. The following traits have been found to be present among delinquents: love of adventure and excitement, impulsiveness, stubbornness, violent temper, ego-centrism, revengefulness, social suggestibility, over-sensitiveness, disrespect for authority and inability to plan new work or shape situations.

The large number of second offenders and habituals confirms that correctional schools, reformatories and prisons are not effective in making law-abiding citizens. A child, before entering the prison walls, feels a certain degree of terror in the commission of any crime that might lead him to it; but the prison once entered removes that fear. The writer has himself seen a number of children in jails and reformatories who on the first day of imprisonment were crying with shame and apprehension, but in a week or so they became careless and indifferent and even reckless and turbulent. During the course of their residence there they acquire an ambition to excel the boastful villains in crime with whom they come in contact there.

Therefore, an official affidavit should be used only as a last resort when all other methods have failed. It is no use waiting for violation of law and then bending all efforts to pursuing, arresting, prosecuting, and punishing offenders without giving much thought to the elimination of the forces that produce thousands like them. Thus the logical policy in regard to crime and delinquency is the policy of prevention. "Every authentic information from those who have been waging war against crime and criminals, night and day, reveals that there is but one way to reduce crime and that is through a policy of prevention," declared President Roosevelt in 1933.

Punishment is at best a method of defence, prevention is a method of offence. It is evidently futile to continue to take individual after individual out of the situation in which they become criminals, punish

them and permit the situation to remain in other respects as it was. A case of delinquency is more than a psychological act of an individual, it involves a net-work of social isolation and by treating them all we shall be working to prevent crime. Preventive programme is different from treatment programme inasmuch as it curbs the problem as its source, while the latter is curative, rehabilitative or correctional in point of reference or attack.

The increasing emphasis on prevention may appear to some as idealistic to-day as the idea of preventive measures regarding diseases appeared to many more than five decades ago. In fact many people simply laughed at them. But now preventive programme in the field of public health is an accepted tenet in every state. Crime is nothing but a social disease and so we should focus more and more our attention upon the preventive side. This is not to say, of course, that curative process at this point should be neglected or even checked in any particular any more than the cure of diseases can stop because preventive measures have been worked out. But there must be a change in our attitude and we must realize that a tremendous advance in human adjustment and human happiness may be made possible by working directly to eliminate the causes of delinquency.

A complex of factors is usually associated with criminality involving interplay of biological handicaps, subtle human motivation and social and economic elements. It is usually difficult to assign proper weight to any single factor or to any group of factors in causal complex. It is equally difficult to ascertain as to which factor would be given the primary place. So if we make a many-sided attack on the factors commonly found in the careers of offenders our efforts would reduce the number of recruits to the criminal army. Therefore, the preventive programme should include the following:

(*a*) Community co-ordinating council.
(*b*) Police programme.
(*c*) Education programme.
(*d*) Recreation programme.
(*e*) Child-study institutes.
(*f*) Child-guidance clinics.
(*g*) Homes for runaways.

Community Co-ordinating Counci.—We need such councils for changing the home conditions and adjusting community influences. These councils are very common in U. S. A. The purpose is the co-operation of the official agencies of the community for welfare work, and to prevent

overlapping and duplicating of efforts in order to bring efficiency of all the departments. The main objectives of such councils are three, *viz.*:

1. To solve the problem of its children and youths before they become sufficiently serious to require the services of a court.

2. To strengthen the home and community influences that build character in youth and adjust or eliminate those influences that may lead to delinquency and crime.

3. To co-ordinate local and state facilities and bring them to bear upon the unadjusted child so that he may be returned to the normal life.

In order to establish such a council it is essential that a preliminary survey of the community and enviornments be made to determine the problems and criminological influences. It will include basic conditions in the community, *viz.*, population, economic conditions, health, housing, delinquency rate, leisure time interest of children, constructive influences like community centres and social agency services and destructive influences like liquor establishments and gambling dens. Having done this, the council should begin with the canvassing of community resources and enlisting their co-operation for organizing pre-delinquency work. There should be an elaborate programme for educating the public in redeeming delinquency and promoting public health, happiness and welfare of children. Thus the enviornments will be improved, constructive influences will be strengthened and destructive ones eliminated.

Police Programme.—Police officers possess tremendous power and discretion. In arresting persons they use discrimination otherwise they would be in court the major part of the day, and so they settle the majority of disputes on the spot. The police officer makes immediate decision as to whom he shall arrest, threaten, preach, instruct or ignore. The policemen are shaping the destinies of the people with whom they come into contact and so hold key positions. They are the social workers of the first order and need to know human psychology.

A peep into the police training curricular shows that our policemen are given more training in physical education than in any other subject. No doubt criminal law and procedure, the care and use of weapons, police organization and administration are also emphasised, but no courses in the guidance of the youth, problems of youth and prevention of crime are given. It is a sad truth that the efficiency of a police officer is judged by the number of successful prosecutions to his credit. It is time now to introduce courses in social work, probation, parole and youth guidance.

It should be made clear to the police officers that the duty of the police is not only apprehension of young offenders, but also their protection from becoming delinquents. The police having direct first-hand know-

ledge and contact with crime in all its ramifications, are in a better position to find its root and indicate it, than any other agency in the community. The police department is not justified only in arresting and punishing the offenders. It must try to keep crime from claiming its victims as Boards of Health try to keep plague and pestilence away. So far the department has centred all its attention to patrol the mouth of the river of crime and has ignored the source altogether. The object can well be achieved by the organization of a crime prevention unit of the police department in every district. The objectives of such a unit will be :—

1. Supervision of plague spots of delinquency.
2. Granting advice to parents and guardians regarding children in danger of becoming delinquent.
3. Arrest of adults endangering the morals or health of youths.
4. Teaching children to respect the law and its officers.
5. Putting the pre-delinquent and delinquent children and parents in touch with community welfare and health organizations and related activities.

Education Programme.—It is mostly the lack of proper education that is responsible for delinquency amongst children. It is imperative that there should be facilities everywhere for compulsory primary education for all children, and where educational facilities exist proper amendments need be made.

The function of education, as everybody will admit, is much wider than the teaching of formal subjects of the course of study. Teachers can no longer conceive their function solely in terms of instruction in arithmetic, grammar, history, geography and other curricular activities. Today we do not want only scholastic growth of our children but we are also regardful of their health, educational and vocational guidance, emotional stability, social adjustments, civic relationship and character trends. Education then is much more than schooling. It can detect the signs of maladjustment, which, if allowed to continue, may result in delinquency. The danger signs are :—

1. Irregular attendance.
2. Failure in lessons.
3. Conduct pointing bad mental habits.
4. Uncooperative parents.
5. Overwork or illegal employment.

At present the classes in the schools are too big to allow any personal contact. The teacher usually knows nothing about the child or about his home conditions. Therefore, more facilities and better personnel

are required for child guidance. There should be more emphasis on confirming the school to the child, than the child confirming the school. The curriculum of study should be attractive and useful to the students, the worth and dignity of smaller classes should be more appreciated. Better health services should be introduced. Visiting teachers to coordinate home and school should be appointed and vocational guidance for working as a bridge between school and home work should be divided. The school in fact should be developed into a real nation builder. The visiting teacher is to make adjustment between home and school in case of children with unsatisfactory records in school work or behaviour. The visiting teacher may contribute to the prevention of delinquency by promoting in all children the habit of better adjustment, the ability to face difficulties, the skill to get along with others and the freedom to engage in self-expression.

The students should be given elementary lessons in citizenship through concrete situations. Right type of habits and attitudes ought to be developed. Four C's—Cleanliness (of body, clothing, speech, thought), Courtesy (politeness, refinement, consideration for others), Co-operation (helpfulness, service to class, school, home and community), and Control (self-control) should be inculcated in their minds.

The most important duty of the school is vocational guidance as a large percentage of boys go to crime for lack of a job or means of subsistence, being driven by hunger to anti-social behaviour. It is fantastic that we should make every effort, go to every expense, to find a young man suitable employment when he has committed a crime. Yet, before he has committed a crime, we leave him in the streets with no occupation or with a dead occupation from which he will shortly be thrown out. We should extirpate this disease at its source by providing vocational guidance leading to established occupations.

Development of sex hygiene in school is another educational problem and that can no longer be denied. The child is even ignorant of fit names for the parts of the body and process of reproduction. Latin words used by physicians have no power to serve as substitute for simple mother tongue expressions which would serve to release pressures and express natural curiosities. He has to learn everything illicitly. The task of acquiring rational attitudes towards sex must largely be fulfilled by school.

" The concept of family should be acquired in school. Sex education in the past has been based largely on the requirements of individual virility, virtue, and happiness. The youth is not taught the principles of forming a family how much it costs first and last, what are its social advantages

and disadvantages, what is expected of a family in modern civilisation, what are the qualities of a good father, mother, brother, sister, what are the indispensable attributes of a bachelor, etc. These family matters could be profitably discussed in the junior and high schools, or wherever adolescents congregate. They are far more likely to be interesting now than at some later time. Family problems in the same manner as civics or ethics or culture-history could be attached to each department of the curriculum. This safety value of vigorous critical discussion would ease some of the tension and irritation of the average boy and girl towards his or her own family." (Mirriam Van Waters, Youth in Conflict, p. 210.)

There should be special schools or at least special classes for the following types of handicapped children, because on account of their defects they are maladjusted and tend to drift into anti-social behaviour in the regular class room. When special instructions are provided, most of these tendencies will gradually disappear.

1. Children with physical handicaps as of vision or hearing or speech.
2. Children with mental handicaps.
3. Retarded children not mentally deficient.

Parent Education:—Another important factor in delinquency is the failure of parents to understand the child and parental ignorance of methods of child training and character development. Parents' education is necessary because parents are constant and inevitable teachers of children. It is only as home and school understand each other and work together that desirable behaviour is made consistent and undesirable behaviour is eliminated. Therefore, it is necessary that arrangements should be made for parental class in child-care and training including discipline of children and their guidance and management. The parents, aware and acquainted with the problems of children, will be able to cultivate self-control, generosity, fairness, cheerfulness, kindness, courageousness responsibility, persistence towards the cherished goal, truthfulness, frankness and all that we expect of a wholesome personality.

The parents should also be given talks on birth-control. Our population is increasing by leaps and bounds with the result that we are unable to educate them, feed them and care for them. It is a serious thing to bring a child into the world and the individuals responsible for his birth have thereby incurred new responsibilities and obligations. Having a child should be a well-thought-out operation. There need not be total stoppage of new arrivals but there should be controlled arrivals. We want not more babies but better brought up babies.

Recreation Programme.—The boy who is busily occupied is less apt to be exposed to undesirable influences and therefore runs less risk of getting into trouble. So we require well planned recreation and leisure facilities for our children. Recreation helps in breaking up undesirable habits by providing outlets for action and meeting their natural impulses for physical and mental activity. The recreation activities may be subdivided as follows:—

Games and Play.—Playground with play materials and other equipments provide opportunities for children for wholesome play and prevents street accidents, and also provides another group experience in addition to the family and the school. It reflects community life and is very significant in determining aptitudes, habits and standards of conduct in the juveniles. Play develops fairness, honesty, reliability, sportsmanship, obedience, loyalty, rivalry, enthusiasm, skill, sharing and co-operation. The child finds there status and recognition. He can transfer the values of playground activity and ethics to everyday life. Thus organized public playground is a character-moulding agency, a personality developer, a preventive of behaviour problems. But to have the real value play must be supervised by proper play organisers or leaders. The organiser should be selected for his knowledge and understanding of problem boys, for his interest in social work, for his wide experience in recreational work, for his personality, for his ability to attract boys, for his ability to have their confidence and respect and still not lose that common touch and for his willingness to meet new problems with the same enthusiasm and will to contribute something worth while to each boy's character. Mr. J. H. Kelley, Juvenile Court Probation Officer in U. S. A., says from his fifteen years of experience with delinquent boys, "I have found that playgrounds and social centres are the greatest saviours for our American youths. They prevent most of our boys and girls from going wrong."

Scouting.—The Boy Scout movement aims to supplement existing organizations such as home and the school by engaging the boy's leisure energies in outdoor games and activities in outdoor games and activities of cultural and practical value. The aim is to inculcate character, which, though necessrry to life, is not taught within the school and being largely a matter of environment is too generally left to chance, often with deplorable results. The superfluous energy of youths which finds way to delinquent behaviour will be diverted in time towards the social and well organized activities provided by the Boy Scout and Girl Guide movement.

The Boy Scout movement takes the boy at that time of life when he is beset with the new and bewildering experiences of adolescence and

diverts his thoughts therefrom to wholesome and worthwhile activities. It develops the all round personality of the individual and ensures good citizenship.

Boys' Clubs.—Boys' clubs are required to meet the needs of boys in the neighbourhood irrespective of community, mental capacity or economic or social status. These clubs suit more for cities than for villages. The wishes of the boys are to determine the type of club they will have and the membership is limited to those of their own choosing. They elect their own office-bearers, collect their fees and are free in carrying out their ideas. Such a club exists in the Nagpada Neighbourhood House at Bombay. The boys develop enthusiasm and self-respect as also self-confidence and take pride in loyalty to their club. The whole idea is to give scope for the use of extra energy in desirable ways instead of being misused in the street plays. 'Perhaps of all the prophylactic agencies noted, the Boys Clubs of America is one agency which is attacking rationally, effectively and fundamentally the problem of crime. They are dealing with the prevention of crime at its sources before its very first manifestions.'

Big Brother and Sister Movement.—Some sympathetic persons with an interest in the welfare of children and youths may enrol themselves as big brothers and sisters to help the young ones in their various problems. The cases may be introduced to them through the social service agency, which may also discuss the plan of tentative programme. The character of the programme depends upon individual problem but a confidence, admiratiion and willingness is to be established on the part of the child towards the brother or sister handling the case. These people work as their elder guides. A counsellor or guide may open the door of a new world not only to the boy but to the whole gang where school and home have failed.

Child Guidance Institute.—The work of this institute is to assist and guide the children. The work may be summed up as follows:—

1. To teach delinquent boys to stand on the side of law and to be helpful to law officers.
2. To try to teach boys that crime does not pay.
3. To tell them to think twice before committing a crime.
4. To give the person the impression that the child study institute is not to punish them but to help them to live and to take preventive steps.
5. When taken into custody to ask them to give correct information to the officer.
6. So teach the boys to be courteous and social.

Child Guidance Clinic.—The main aim of the child guidance clinic is not to rehabilitate the child after he has become delinquent, but rather to strike at the very root of delinquency and maladjustment by correcting minor behaviour difficulties. The clinic attempts to prevent the development of undesirable traits of personality in the child and to bring back the child by adjusting him to the environments. While a child may come to the clinic because of unsatisfactory habits, troublesome personality traits, or difficult behaviour, these outward expressions are looked upon simply as symptoms or manifestations of underlying disturbances which may be found to be mental, physical, or moral, but which in any event are hindering the harmonious adjustment of the child to his environments. Children suffering from such disorders as stealing, lying, truancy, sex-offence, violence, destructiveness, personality disorders, habit disorders, are treated. It is emotional stability that the clinic tries to bring about and the lack of it becomes responsible for delinquency and other problems in children.

Every child needs certain emotional tones which permeates the mental lives of most well adjusted individuals. They are:—

1. Feeling of adequacy, self-expression, courage and satisfaction in meeting and facing reality.
2. Feeling of belonging to, of loving to and being loved by others.
3. Feeling of having a faith, understanding of philosophy of life.

The unadjusted children are those who have a sense of loss of one or of all these basic needs. The clinic tries to get the whole picture of the child. The child is, therefore, studied from the various angles—social by the social case worker, psychological by the psychologist, physical by the physician, and psychiatirc by the psychiatrist.

The treatment methods include advice, consultation, persuasion, indulgence, temporization, change of environment and directed sublimatory activity in work, art and play. The method employed depends upon the need of a particular case. The treatment programme also aims at correcting the conditions in the home and the school, including the rehabilitation of family.

Home for Runaways.—Quite a large number of children run away from home for various reasons such as spirit of adventure, rebellion against home, conditions dissatisfactory with school life, desire for independence, fear of discipline, etc. They, for lack of any social agency for the purpose of saving them, fall a prey to city vices and are lost to the society being driven to delinquency and vices. Most of the people whom the runaways meet feel no responsibility to check their expedition,

but their generous impulse induces the children to repeat the experiment. This leads to serious delinquency. We are sure that these children would be saved if there is anybody to guide them—whom they could approach for help. Therefore, at least in big cities there should be an organization to find out runaways with a view to arranging for their immediate return to their respective homes. In particular a watch should be kept over young ticketless travellers with no responsible guardian. They should be temporarily housed, sympathetically cared for and enquired about their home address and circumstances. Then they should be restored to their proper parents or guardians. This association should also seek to redress the grievances of boy servants when their wages are refused or they are roughly handled by their masters. The home may also pick up young vagabond children from the street and make provision for their housing, clothing, feeding, schooling and vocational training as is being done by the Byramji Jeejeebhoy Home for Children in Bombay and Children's Home of the Punjab Children's Aid Society in Lahore. The result of organizing such a home will be that the children cared for by such home will get a chance of living a decent, useful and disciplined life thereby eliminating social maladjustment.

People may ask as to why all this effort should be concentrated upon a group of individuals who have given us all such trouble. The sceptical critic will also say that this is only working on society's unpromising material and the result achieved may not be in proportion to the efforts. But we may point out that preventing delinquency means preventing the criminals from being manufactured and so no matter what you do to stop crime it must be done before the criminal becomes hardened in crime. Save these children while you can; do not devote yourself to the rebuilding of old wrecks but work on the youths who are wayward and maladjusted. Do not permit delinquency to occur. Society's interests are at stake and society will have to be alert, resourceful and willing to give thought to this problem and to accept responsibility for a suitable programme of prevention.

AŚOKA'S PACIFISM AND THE YUGAPURĀNA SECTION OF THE GĀRGĪSAMHITĀ

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IN the history of Indological researches, we often notice that a mistake or conjecture of one author is immortalised by later writers on the subject. Today one writer offers a conjectural suggestion as not wholly absurd; tomorrow another scholar will come forward to colour it by his own imagination and to say that the theory is very probable ; and the next day a third writer will take that hypothesis to be already an established fact. (See Sircar, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, 1939, pp. 63-66.) In a paper entitled *Dharmavijaya and Dhammavijaya* (*Calcutta Review*, February, 1943, p. 114ff.) Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has unfortunately brought at one stretch the hypothetical suggestions of a previous writer to the third stage of evolution. In this case, Diwan Bahadur Prof. K. H. Dhruva's emendations in some verses of the *Yugapurāṇa*, which are admittedly tentative and conjectural, have been represented by Prof. Sastri as perfectly convincing.

Prof. Sastri quotes the following line from the *Yugapurāṇa*: *sthāpayishyati mohātmā vijayam nāma dhārmikam* (*i.e.*, the fool will establish the so-called conquest of Dharma), and remarks, "The line applies, in fact, as K. H. Dhruva has shown *convincingly*, to Śāliśuka and to his rule in Surāshṭra as viceroy under his brother Samprati, when he forcibly converted the whole land to Jainism by suppressing the sacrificial religion altogether" (*op. cit.*, p. 193). It is well-known to the readers of Prof. Dhruva's paper in J. B. O. R. S., 1930, p. 18ff., that the learned scholar made such fanciful emendations as the following: *śiśunāgakule.. udayo* for *śiśunāgātmajo..udadhī* (11.8-9), *śākalam* for *sāketam* (1.22) and *śākale* for *sākete* (1.36), *pushyamitreṇa* for *agnivaiśyāstu* (1.51), *Kaliṅgān samupasthitaḥ* for *vināśe samupasthite* (1.54), *Vasumitrāt* for *agnivaiśyāh* (1.90). Moreover, he rearranged the lines of the original text in his own ingenious way in the following order: lines 1-26, 41, 79-82, 42-52, 83-93, 107-109, 61-69, 110, 70-78, 53-57, 104-105, 64, 58-60, 94-103, 27-33, 36-37, 35, 34, 38, 40, 113-115, 111-112. Considering the nature of the emendations as well as the peculiar arrangement of the lines, the value of Dhruva's reconstructed

text appears to us to be not greater than that of Roberto de Nobili's *Ezourvedam* (Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 13n). It is apparently for this reason that the suggestions have so far been neglected by many of the scholars who have written on the subject.

Let us, however, consider the section in which the verse referred to by Prof. Sastri occurs. In Dhruva's reconstructed text,[1] lines 16-21 are as follows:

tasmin pushpapure ramye janārāma (original text: *ramya-janaśajā* [Kern: *rāja* ?]) *śatākale* |
kratukarmakshayākūtaḥ (original text: *ṛibhukshā karmasūtaḥ śālisūko bhavishyati* ||
sa rājā karmanirato (original text: *°sūto*) *dushṭātmā priyavigrahaḥ* |
saurāshṭramardayan (original text: *svarāshṭramardote*) *ghoraṃ dhaomavādī hyadhārmikaḥ* (original text: *adhā*) ||
svaṃ jyeshṭhaṃ (original text: *sa jyeshṭha*) *bhrātaraṃ sādhum sampratiṃ prathayan gaṇaiḥ* (original text: *ketiti* [Kern: *hatvā vi?*] *prathitaṃ guṇaiḥ*) –
sthāpayishyati mohātmā vijayaṃ nāma dhārmikam ||

It will be seen that in the original text referred to by Kern, there is no reference to Samprati, Surāshṭra and the Jain community which are all taken by Prof. Sastri from the conjectural emendations of Dhruva. It will also be seen that, following the line of Dhruva, one can interpolate into the text the name of any person or place of any age or country. Critical scholarship should hesitate to suggest conjectural emendations, at least in such passages as *svarāshṭramardate ghoraṃ dharmavādī adhārmikaḥ* which yields a perfectly satisfactory sense. And, as an experienced writer, Prof. Sastri should not have passed off Dhruva's conjectural emendations as a faithful representation of the original text of the *Yugapurāṇa*. To

[1] Dhruva's translation of the concluding passage runs as follows: (The wicked Śāliśuka will) "proclaim the so-called Religious conquest, contributing thereby to the glorification of his elder brother Samprati by sections of the Jain community." It is not only the result of considerable tampering with the original text but is also confusing. If both of them were Jains, why is Samprati praised as *sādhu* and Śāliśuka condemened? How could the wicked and irreligious policy of Śāliśuka contribute to *Dharmavijaya* and to the glorification of the religiousness of his elder brother? Moreover, the context seems to support the reading *svarāshṭram*. The next verse reads:

tataḥ sāketam ākramya pañchālām mathurāṃs tātha |
yavanā dushṭavikrāntā prāpashyanti Kusumadhvajam ||

The author seems to suggest that the disturbances in the empire which were the result of Śāliśuka's bad policy encouraged the Greeks to fall upon it. They conquered Sāketa, Pāñchāla and Mathurā and then advanced even aginst Pāṭaliputrā, the capital of the empire. The correction *hyadhārmikaḥ* is unnecessary. This sort of *visandhidosha* is very often noticed in the epics and the Purāṇas. See *Matsya* P. quoted in *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 94.

Prof. Dhruva's credit, it must be said that his own remarks are sufficient to prove the speculative and inconclusive character of the emendations suggested by him. He says, "The emendation *jānārāma* in line 16 for *janarāja* which is difficult to construe is one which will recommend itself as being easy to interpret. The case of *ṛibhukshā karmasūtaḥ* in the next line is somewhat different. It is to be discarded, no doubt, because it conveys no meaning and at the same time makes the line metrically faulty. But the restoration of the right reading is rather taxing to the brain. The lines that come after throw some light, and with their help I have proposed to read *kratukarmakshayākūtaḥ*. The word *sūto* in line 18 defies all attempt at interpretation. I have substituted *nirato tentatively* for want of better one, to make the metrically faulty line run smooth and remove the obscurity. The present *ardate* in line 19 ill suits prophetic statements. I have replaced it by the participial adjective *ardayan*. By this change lines 18-21 are made to go together and form a simple sentence so that *sa* of line 20 becomes superfluous. It seems to me that in reality the scribe has unknowingly interchanged the initial letters of lines 19 and 20. To set right the mistake I propose to read the first terms as *saurāshṭram* and *svaṃ jyeshṭhaṃ* respectively in the said lines. Mr. Jayaswal has pointed out the relationship of Śāliśuka and Samprati. In accordance with the said relationship I have suggested the reading *sampratim* in place of *ketiti* in line 20 (*op. cit.*, p. 53). No comments are necessary on the above passage as it speaks for itself.

Prof. Sastri does not believe that the pacifist policy of Aśoka was in any way responsible for the downfall of the Maurya empire. He, therefore, criticizes Jayaswal and Raychaudhuri who hold Aśoka at least partly responsible. But Sastri does scant justice to the author of the *Political History of Ancient India* (4th edition), when he says "from the references given by both these writers I am led to think that support for this line of criticism is sought from a misquotation based on misunderstanding of a line in the *Yugapurāṇa* of the *Gārgīsaṃhitā*" (*op. cit.*, p. 123). It is hardly justifiable to bring the charge of misquotation and misunderstanding against writers who have rightly neglected the tentative readings and conjectures of Dhruva and accepted the version of the original MS. as quoted by Kern. Moreover Raychaudhuri has quoted the *Yugapurāṇa* passage just to *compare* the policy attributed to Śāliśuka and commented on in the *Yugapurāṇa* with that of Aśoka who was its real initiator as we learn from epigraphic records of the family. He has also adduced other evidences regarding the causes of the downfall of the Maurya empire. "The royal hunts and the jousts of arms in Samājas were abolished. The army seems to have been practically inactive during the last twenty-

nine years of the reign as the emperor himself declares with a feeling of exultation that "the sound of *bherī* had become the sound of the True Law, *Dharma*." The Chinese *Hou Hanshu* testifies to the fact that the people of India "practise the religion of the Buddha; it has become a habit with them not to kill and not to fight." The ease with which general Pushyamitra overthrew his king in the very sight of the army shows that unlike the earlier kings of the dynasty who took the field in person, the last of the Mauryas lost touch with his fighting forces and ceased to command their affection. The largesses of gold lavished on the *religieux* must also have crippled the financial resources of the empire. The system of autonomous Rājūkas instituted by Aśoka must have let loose centrifugal forces that his successors were unable to check (*op. cit.*, p. 304, n. 3). "He called upon his sons and even grandsons to eschew new conquests, avoid the shedding of blood and take pleasure in patience and gentleness" (*op. cit.*, p. 304). "Some of Aśoka's descendants (*e.g.*, Jalauka) set up independent sovereignties, and were thus responsible for the dismemberment of the empire" (*loc. cit.*, n. 1). "The disintegration which set in before 206 A.D. was accelerated by the invasions led by the Yavanas referred to in the *Gārgīsaṃhitā* and the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali. The final *coup de grace* was given by Pushyamitra" (*op. cit.*, p. 305).

In conclusion we cannot help commenting on another argument of Prof. Sastri. He remarks, "Aśoka is blamed for having weakened the Maurya empire by his pacifism. Did Aurangzeb who spent a whole lifetime in war leave the Mughal empire stronger and render the task of his successors easier?" But the learned Professor suggests a wrong analogy. No historian has ever opined that all empires of the world declined on account of the same cause. The downfall of the Mughal empire may have been partly due to Aurangzeb's militarist policy which drained the resources of the state; but there are other rulers (*e.g.*, Akbar, Śivājī, Dalhousie and others) who followed a policy of war with different results. The failure of the last great Mughal is no argument to disprove that the strongest of the factors that led to the decline of the Maurya empire was Aśoka's policy of Pacifism.

REPLY OF PROFESSOR K. A. NILAKAṆTA SASTRI

Dr. D. C. Sircar has very kindly sent me an advance copy of the note he is contributing under the above caption to the *Calcutta Review*; in this note he considers my references to the *Yugapurāṇa* made in the course of my article on *Dharmavijaya and Dhammavijaya*, and he

has invited me to send a reply to be published along with his note. I appreciate his courteous invitation (I have got a similar invitation since from the Editor of the *Review* also) and beg leave to make just a few observations to clear up the position.

Dr. Sircar blames me for citing the tentative emendations of K. H. Dhruva as established facts. I share his feelings about the caution needed in using suggestions contained in the writings of previous workers; I am well aware of the instance to which he has drawn attention in his monograph on the *Successors of the Sātavāhanas* (pp. 63-66) and have had occasion to invite public attention to it. I may assure him that I have considered Dhruva's notes fully and I feel convinced that in the line under reference Dhruva's interpretation is correct. This does not mean that I endorse his entire reconstruction of the *Yugapurāṇa*. The term *Sādhu* applied to Samprati is an antithesis to *Duṣṭātmā* applied to his brother and should not, I think, be pressed too far. If Dr. Sircar thinks me wrong in not neglecting Dhruva's emendations as others have done, he may well be right; but that boils down to a difference where we must agree to differ. I may add, however, that the particular line in question (*sthāpayiṣyati mohātmā vijayaṁ nāma dhārmikaṁ*) is applied to Śāliśūka and *not* to Aśoka either in the original of Jayaswal and Kern or in the reconstructed text of Dhruva, and that both Jayaswal and Raychaudhuri have applied it to Aśoka (JBORS, IV, 261 cited at n. 2, p. 304, by Raychaudhuri in his *Political History*).

Then he says that I have done 'scant justice' to Prof. Raychaudhuri. I am indeed very sorry that I should have given that impression to Dr. Sircar; for he knows very well that I hold Prof. Raychaudhuri and his work in great esteem. But I emphatically dissent from Prof. Raychaudhuri's view and Jayaswal's that Aśoka's love of *Dhamma* and zeal for its propagation detracted from his efficiency as an administrator, and I have said something in my article in support of this point of view (pp. 122-23). The fact that he held the empire together for nearly a generation after he renounced war and fresh conquest by war is sufficient proof of his efficiency.

Commenting on my reference to Aurangzeb, Dr. Sircar says, "The downfall of the Mughal empire may have been partly due to Aurangzeb's militarist policy." He also argues that the downfall of the Mauryan empire was partly due to Aśoka's pacifist policy. And he writes somewhat loftily, "No historian has ever opined that all empires of the world declined on account of the same cause." I wonder if logicians could ever get a better example of *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*!

Miscellany

DR. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

A SOVIET LYRIC

Simonov's *Conqueror* (1937) is dedicated to Nicholas Ostrovsky. Endowed with a great vital power, warrior, constructor, organizer, Ostrovsky lost his eye sight and was bound for life to his bed by the fetters of a terrible disease. But he did not dream of surrendering even then. Blind as he was, mentally coining phrase upon phrase and dictating them, he became a writer and thus created a book that earned universal fame. The end of Simonov's poem is a description of Ostrovsky's death. In this as in many other instances Simonov saw one more confirmation of the Soviet contempt for death. The lines are as follows:

"He's borne through the city while banners are flying
Around him in pomp that to warriors is due,
And children come fearless to where he is lying,
With features though rigid yet smiling and true.
It seems he may rise. Will it happen, I wonder?
He'll open his lips, now as heavy as lead,
And fling to the throng in a voice like the thunder
The last of his war-cries—that wrathful Ahead!
This call as a symbol our happiness bearing,
Through danger to conquests has ever us led,
This war-cry is stern, but 'tis buoyant and daring,
This cry is the truest, 'tis forward! ahead!"

(Translated by Olga S. Moiseyenko, *Voks*, Moscow, Nos. 5-6, 1942).

THE MEANING OF THE RUSSO-GERMAN WAR

The gigantic tug of war between the Germans and the Russians,[1] so far as military operations are concerned, has eclipsed, although undoubtedly as a mere episode, the main conflict of world-wide importance between Germany and the British Empire.

One thing is clear. The doggedness and tenacity with which Russia has tried to resist German invasion prove beyond doubt that she was thoroughly prepared, nay, mobilized in June, 1941, for a super-battle with her Western neighbour. Russia's war-preparedness *vis-à-vis* Germany is not without a special significance. The subordinate place of the Russo-German war in the entire Anglo-German world-war is not the only aspect of this new chapter in the present armageddon. The Russo-German war of today has an independent value apart from the general, hemispheres-comprehending war-*Gestalt*.

In the first place, Russia is getting a chance to examine her industrialization, technocracy and military-naval-aerial might by pitting it against the German which is reputed to be a world champion. This tug of war is demonstrating how far it is possible for a more or less primitive, medieval-economied, agrarian

[1] B. K. Sarkar: *Villages and Towns as Social Patterns* (Calcutta, 1941), section on "Communistic Planning under Trial in the Russo-German War," pp. 598-608.

and illiterate population, as that of Russia, to accomplish in the fields of modernization in culture and technique as a result of Herculean patriotic efforts in the course of barely half a generation. It is a war for the world-recognition of Russia as a great industrial-military power.[2]

In the second place, Germany is examining, for her own satisfaction, as to how far eighty million Germans, with all their modernism in science, industry, organization and war-power, can stand an eventual aggression from the two hundred million Russians, once these latter get fully equipped on all fronts in the up-to-date fashion. The very important question as to whether Russia is to be a mere colony of Germany or Germany is to become russianized is being answered in this war of the Titans. Here we have to envisage the age-long, traditional European problem of Teutons *versus* Slavs similar to the historic French *versus* German, and British *versus* French polarities. For Young Germany as well as for Young Russia the present Russo-German war is an experimental measure, a laboratory practice, so to say, fraught with immense instruction for the problems of the next generation. It is teaching both the parties as to how each ought to equip itself for the greater war that is coming off in a quarter of a century. The present conflict is almost a biological necessity for both Germans and Russians as furnishing each with a training ground for the ensuing struggle over hegemony in Central and Eastern Europe. It is a war of Russian patriotism, nationalism and imperialism against German patriotism, nationalism and imperialism. It is at bottom a race war.

COMMUNISM *VS.* FASCISM?

In the third place, it should perhaps be pointed out that the "ideological" struggle between Bolshevik Russia and Nazi Germany is an aspect that cannot be ignored. Russia may be said to be finding herself in a life and death struggle for communism, bolshevism or sovietism, whereas Germany is the representative of entire non-Russian world-culture, bourgeois and capitalistic as it is. The war between the communistic socialism of Soviet Russia and the non-communistic or capitalistic socialism of Nazi Germany is self-evident. At any rate, this polarity has been made much of in the speeches of Stalin and Hitler. In this particular item the sympathies of the anti-German party in the World-War II, mainly bourgeois as it is, are more with Germany than with Russia. This is a curious phenomenon, but it explains to a certain extent perhaps the persistence of suspicions of the Anglo-American bloc *vis-à-vis* Soviet Russia. These suspicions have been slowly disappearing on account of pragmatic or "realpolitical" if not ideological or spiritual considerations. It has been discovered that the Russian military power is a tremendous reality and must have to be exploited by hook or by crook against the German war-machine. The ideological, *i.e.*, communistic *versus* bourgeois consideration may not then be as profound as the technocratic, military, nationalistic and biological considerations but deserves analysis as a factor in the present milieu.[1]

In case Germany fails, during the next phase of the war, to cut Russia off from Iran and the Persian Gulf, it may not imply any serious defeat for Germany, but will only induce her to try other lines of advance. The allies of Russia will have gained some time and Russia will continue to maintain her communistic sovietism in the unoccupied districts. But in the opposite case the Russian military power will be liquidated as a factor in the world war and the sovietic system may be taken to be rung out of existence in Europe. Genuine exponents or advocates of bolshevism, communism or sovietism are likely to look upon

[2] B. K. Sarkar: *Political Philosophies Since 1905*, Vol. II, Part II (Calcutta, 1942), pp. 391-92, 490.

[1] *Pol. Phil.*, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 375-76.

that fact as a tragedy or catastrophe of first-rate importance. For, it is questionable if the Anglo-American bloc, when it succeeds in defeating Germany and recovering Europe with Russia from German occupation by, say, 1945, will care at the Peace Conference to restore the communistic system anywhere in Russia or Eastern Europe.

In the annihilation of bolshevism as economico-political or socio-economic system Germany will thus have served a great aim of the anti-German party. German co-operation with Anglo-American imperialism will then turn out to be profound and epoch-making. The mutual enemies of World-War II, will, therefore, have to be appraised as real allies and collaborators in a deep game of world-development. Many of the friends of Soviet Russia who are inspiring her to heroic efforts against fascism or nazism may eventually be proven to be her real enemies. It is the fighting qualities of her sturdy Kshatriyas and the heroic determination of her people to court martyrdom that are the chief or the only considerations of her present-day associates.

Round The World

Indo-Soviet Relations

We make no apology in reverting to the question of interchanging official representatives between New Delhi and Moscow. It was expected that after the Soviet Union and Germany came to be at war, the Government of India would go back upon its old policy of keeping the former at arm's length and allow the development of freer social, cultural and political relations between the Indian people and the people of the U.S.S.R. Particularly after it was decided upon by the Government of India to send Agents to Washington and Chungking, many in this country looked forward eagerly to a similar interchange of Indian and Soviet Agents. But all hopes in this direction were belied. Then in June, 1942, the informal relations of friendship between Great Britain and the Soviet Union were replaced by a formal alliance and the latter became in every sense a member of the United Nations. In view of this there was a fresh revival of hope in the mind of many Indians that they might now have an opportunity of welcoming to their country the agents of the Soviet Government and establishing through them and through their own agents in the U.S.S.R. a more intimate cultural contact with the Soviet people. It is very unfortunate that no step in this direction has yet been taken by the Government of India. It should be known that after the United Kingdom and the United States of America formally recognised the new régime in Russia, the Society for Cultural Relations with foreign countries at Moscow established branches in London and New York and through these branches the British and the American people had opportunity of making at least some cultural contact with the new civilisation that was being developed in the old territories of the Czars. But in India no Soviet organisation was allowed to set up any office. So far as the Indian people were concerned, the Soviet civilisation was actually quarantined. We regard this policy as unwise and even absurd. Even those who are no lovers of the socialist civilisation should remember that distance by itself lends charm to things, which may not be as attractive in a closer vision. So it does not matter if we are admirers or opponents of the system which has been reared in the Soviet Union during the last one quarter of a century. For all of us it is good that there should be intimate contact between the two peoples. That this is the correct attitude is testified to by the new policy which the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia have recenty adopted towards Moscow. Not to speak of the Conservatives, even the Labourites in Australia were opponents of the Soviet system of government and society. But now diplomatic representatives have been exchanged between the two countries, and an opportunity for greater cultural contact has been opened. We may at least emulate the Dominions in this respect.

Speaker of the House of Commons

The death of Captain E. A. Fitzroy, the Speaker of the British House of Commons, was announced early in March last. Born in 1869, he was trained as an army officer but very soon turned to parliamentary work. In the House of Commons his knowledge of the rules and procedure made possible his election in 1922 as Deputy Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means and six years later when Speaker Whitley retired, he was chosen to succeed him and worked in that capacity till death.

Sir Courtenay Ilbert, once the Clerk of the House of Commons, pointed out that "the ordinary list of Speakers begins with Sir Thomas Hungerford who held the office in the last Parliament of Edward III." But actually the office dates back to the 13th century. The House, it should be remembered, was originally a petitioning body and required on this account a spokesman who would submit the petitions to the King. He was to be elected by the House at the beginning of each Parliament and the election had to be approved of by the King. Even today the King has the right to veto the election of a Speaker, if he so desires. But just as the right of the King to veto a bill passed by the two Houses of the Parliament has fallen into disuse, so also this right in respect of the Speakership has not been exercised for nearly three hundred years. In fact the last occasion of the King vetoing the election of a Speaker was in 1679 when Charles II objected to the choice of Sir Edward Seymour.

The most distinguishing feature of the Speakership of the House of Commons is its impartiality. The Speaker as the custodian of the rights and privileges of the House and the regulator of its debates is expected to hold the scales even between member and member and party and party. He is not by his rulings to subserve the interests of this group at the sacrifice of the interests of another. He is only to apply the rules of the House as impartially and efficiently as possible. In other words he is to regard his duties and responsibilities as of a judicial nature. To this end he had to free his position from dependence as much upon the Crown as upon the Party. It was not of course in a day that he achieved such independence. Even at the beginning of the 18th century, for instance, we find a Minister of the Crown combining his ministerial functions with those of the Speaker and naturally thereby subordinating the latter to the exigencies of his position as Minister. But gradually new traditions and conventions were established and the Speaker made his position free—free as much from dependence upon the executive as from the trammels of the party.

When the Speakership falls vacant, the Party which is in a majority in the House may nominate one of its own members for the office. But before it is publicly declared, the opposition is invariably consulted and if it has any objection to the nomination it is dropped and another nomination is made. The object is to secure a unanimous election. In making a nomination, the candidate's antecedents, his contributions to the debates, his standing among his colleagues, his appearance, his personality and his acquaintance with the rules of the House are taken into consideration. Not often the Chairman or the Deputy Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means stands out as the obvious choice and he is unanimously elected to the Speaker's chair.

Once a person has been elected Speaker, the convention is that he should be allowed to be elected in that capacity from Parliament to Parliament until he decides to retire. It is also a convention that at the time of a general election his seat should not be contested and he should be allowed to be returned to the House without a fight and without even issuing an election manifesto to his constituents. But these are only conventions and not laws and as such they have been on occasions broken. In 1935 for instance the Speaker's seat was contested by a labour candidate, though unsuccessfully. In order that the impartiality of the Speaker may be fully ensured, it has also become a custom that as soon as a member has been elected in this capacity, he must cease to attend his party meetings and the political club to which he belonged. To ensure his freedom further, he is given an official residence, a high salary and a decent pension on retirement. If he chooses, he may also have on such retirement a peerage. In fact, speakers before Whitley received peerages on retirement. The latter insisted on remaining a commoner.

We have already pointed out that impartiality is a feature of the British Speakership which distinguishes it from similar offices elsewhere. Sometime ago we referred in these columns to the Speaker of the House of Representatives at Washington and pointed out on that occasion that he is to this day emphatically

a party man and regards it as one of his essential duties to subserve party interests in the House. In the French Chamber of Deputies under the Third Republic also no fetish was made of the impartiality of the President. He was elected only for one session at a time and his election might or might not be renewed. There is no gainsaying the fact that the election was conducted on party lines and once a man was elected President, he was not necessarily to cut off his connection with his group or party. In fact he remained a politician. Sometimes we are even confronted with spectacles in the French Chamber which are unthinkable in the modern British House of Commons. In 1926, for instance, M. Eduard Herriot, the veteran Radical Democrat, stepped down all on a sudden from the Presidential chair and made an effective speech against the Government of M. Briand. It in fact brought about the fall of the latter and thereupon M. Herriot himself was called upon by the President of the Republic to form a ministry, which he did. In Great Britain, we may repeat, such an incident is out of the question. In fact now-a-days in the House of Commons experience and training for the Speakership and for Cabinet offices are acquired on parallel lines. Those who proceed along the latter channel are not as a rule thought of in regard to presidential duties.

Chinese Educational Mission in India

A Chinese Educational Mission has been in this country for about a month. Its leader, Dr. Y. H. Ku, who happens to be the Vice-Minister of Education in free China, has so far made two statements, one at Calcutta on arrival in India and the other at New Delhi. In both of them he emphasised the necessity and importance of closer cultural contact between the peoples of India and China. These two countries are neighbours and in the past influenced each other very deeply. But for centuries past contact between them has been only fitful and knowledge of things Chinese on the part of the Indians and *vice versa* is not as great as it should be. In fact we know each other far less than we know the Western countries. In view of this it is essential that everything should be done by way of fostering mutual contact and understanding.

The chief object of the present Mission is to visit the different centres of education and culture in this country and study at first hand the arrangements they have made and the methods they pursue. They will later advise the Chinese Government as to the institutions to which a number of Chinese students might be sent to carry on their studies in different fields. We have no doubt about it that the people of India and particularly the students and teachers of the Universities to which the Chinese scholars may be sent will welcome them most heartily and do everything possible to make their stay there both comfortable and fruitful. A direct contact thus established between Indian and Chinese students will certainly contribute to the wider understanding between the two peoples. It is our regret that so far the Chinese who are already in India have not found it possible to mix on a more intensive scale with the people of the country. One of the reasons is certainly the appointment of British officers to perform liaison duties. These latter having themselves little to do with the Indian intellectual and cultural circles cannot certainly be expected to foster very fruitful Sino-Indian relations. Secondly, in view of the unfortunate political situation in India many of the Chinese seek very discreetly the company of the Britishers in this country and avoid association with the Indians, particularly Indian intellectuals. This attitude is intelligible but all the same very unfortunate. We only hope that the Chinese Educational Mission will succeed in creating a new atmosphere in which the Chinese residents here will be emboldened to seek more and more the society of Indians.

There are some points in the statement made by Dr. Ku at New Delhi, which may be emphasised here. In the first place he tells us that all the higher secondary schools and universities in free China gave military training as a

compulsory subject. Secondly, it is to be noted that China has succeeded in separating education from religion. In none of the universities, colleges and schools any denominational subject is taught and none of them is devoted only to the education of any denominational group. Lastly, we may refer to the fact that education is imparted in all stages through the medium of Chinese, though one foreign language has to be learnt in the higher stages.

Pay of Teachers

Recently a summary of the recommendations of the Sargent Committee on the training and pay of teachers was published in a Calcutta daily. This Committee was appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Education. It had among its members the Directors of Public Instruction of several provinces including Bengal and was presided over by Mr. John Sargent, the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India. The observations they have made and the recommendations they have submitted cannot, therefore, be said to be those of impractical visionaries without much experience of the world and without any appreciation of administrative difficulties.

The Committee recommends that the minimum national scale of pay for teachers in the primary schools should be Rs. 30 rising to Rs. 50 per month, and in addition to this salary the teachers should be given free family quarters or in lieu of that 10% extra. In big towns the scale for such teachers should be adjusted to local conditions and the pay should start at Rs. 45 and rise to Rs. 75. In the vernacular middle schools the scale recommended is Rs. 40 rising to Rs. 80 with suitable allowance in expensive areas. For graduate teachers in high schools again the Committee recommends the scale of Rs. 70-5-150 per month. Mr. Sargent and his colleagues further think that the head of a school, however small, should be a man of consequence and in order that only persons of suitable standing may be attracted to them in this capacity they must be paid on a still higher scale. In primary schools the minimum scale for headmasters and headmistresses should be Rs. 40 rising to Rs. 80 and the maximum scale should be Rs. 60 rising to Rs. 100. For headmasters and headmistresses of high schools the minimum scale recommended is Rs. 175 10-255 and the maximum scale Rs. 350-15-500.

We are glad that the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India and the Directors of Public Instruction of some of the provinces have made an attempt to solve on a satisfactory basis one of the much neglected but vital and pivotal problems of our social organisation. Without improving the financial conditions of service of the teachers, public instruction can on no account be improved and the educational level of the people can never be raised. We have heard *ad nauseum* that education is a noble calling and those in charge of it discharge a primary function of the society. Whether teaching was by itself without financial inducement an attractive profession in any period of this country's history, we do not know. But this much we can say that in modern times when all things are judged mostly, if not wholly, by the monetary standard, teaching cannot be made respectable and thereby effective without due financial compensation being paid to those engaged in it. In Bengal much of primary education work was done until recently under the auspices of the District Boards. This responsibility has now passed on to the District School Boards. We know that many of the teachers of the District Board Schools received only Rs. 7 per month. Under the School Boards their positon has in some places at least improved but not by more than fifty or sixty per cent. While the Sargent Committee recommends a scale of Rs. 30-50, the elementary school teachers now actually receive less than half of it. Higher up the discrepancy between the scale recommended and the salary actually received by teachers is far more appalling. We notice that the Committee

expects the Government of India to take up the burden of financing (to the extent of 50%) the schemes suggested by it. We are looking forward to the day when the recommendations of Sargent Committee will be carried out.

" Due Process of Law " and India

Lord Halifax, a former Viceroy of India and at present the British Ambassador at Washington, has since his arrival there done his best by his lectures, personal conversations and contributions to the press to bring home to the American public the honesty of purpose of the British Government in India and the inherent justice of the British case in this country. His latest effort in this direction consists in a contribution over his own signature to the magazine " The American." In this article he is reported to have pointed out that India is not a possession but a trust of Britain and the British Government is pursuing its present policy in this country not for the purpose of perpetuating British domination but to save the Indians from themselves. It is not necessary to make any comment on this part of the observations of the most Christian ex-Viceroy of India. But he proceeds " All her (India's) leaders are free to carry on as usual except those whose unpredictable activities might prove harmful to her national safety. Against those the authorities have found it necessary to invoke the due process of law." We might have dismissed this observation also as mere cant which is not unoften very intimately associated with religiosity, had not Lord Halifax introduced in it the phrase " due process of law." Such an introduction may mislead the American public as to the methods adopted in India in denying freedom to many of our countrymen and keeping them behind the prison bars at the present time.

" Due process of law " is a phrase which was incorporated in two Amendments to the Constitution of the United States—Amendment V and Amendment XIV. It may be remembered that when the Constitution as framed by the Philadelphia Convention came up before the State Conventions for ratification, some of the latter including those of Virginia, Massachussets and New York, demanded that without a bill of rights appended to it the Constitution would not be an effective safeguard against the rights, liberties and privileges of the individual citizens. It was in response to this demand that in 1790 a number of amendments were incorporated in the Constitution. Number V of them lays down among other things that no person shall be " deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law." The injunction contained in this Amendment is upon the Federal Government and does not extend to the States. It may be remembered again that the question of slavery became acute in the United States long before the Civil War. As a result of this War, however, slavery became illegal and to that effect an amendment to the Constitution (XIII) was adopted. But mere abolition was not enough. Lest the Governments of the States which had fought for slavery should make the life of the liberated Negroes impossible, Amendment XIV was carried in 1868. Its first section provides among other things that no State shall " deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law...."

Now what does " due process of law " actually mean ? The Supreme Court observed in 1856 that " it is manifest that it was not left to the legislative power to enact any process which might be devised. The article is a restraint on the legislative as well as on the executive and judicial powers of the government..." Thereafter the Courts had other occasions to interpret the implications of " due-process " and these interpretations do not all agree. But there is unanimity in this that if a procedure of punishing an individual and depriving him of liberty or property is to be consistent with due process, it must tally with the spirit of common law. Consequently if a man is suddenly arrested under an ordinance and kept behind prison bars for an indefinite period without any trial, it cannot

be said on any account that he has been deprived of his liberty according to due process of law. We may, therefore, say that the observations of Lord Halifax are grossly misleading.

British War Aims

The editor of the *Nineteenth Century and After* holds ultra-Tory opinion in regard to British policy towards the Empire and towards Europe. We quoted his opinions in these columns on previous occasions to illustrate Conservative viewpoint in respect of British Imperial and foreign policy. In the November issue of this journal he wrote extensively on the policy which His Majesty's Government should adopt towards the post-war territorial problems of Europe. He regrets that so far the British Foreign Office has not declared any definite line of action in regard to the post-war settlement. The Editor is a firm believer in the old principle of balance of power and he thinks that only under British leadership, unequivocally asserted, that this balance of power may be maintained for the peace and welfare of Europe. It need not be repeated that he has no confidence in the principle of collective security enforced by any institution like the League of Nations. He now broaches the question as to how the balance of power which he prizes so much can really be maintained. First of all he suggests that a middle Europe consisting of Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia should be created. Not that these units should coalesce and become one Union. But these countries should be liberated from the clutches of Germany and the U. S. S. R. and set on their own legs. They can be so liberated only with British help and co-operation and only under British guidance and assistance can they keep together as a barrier against German and Soviet power and influence. It need not be emphasised here that the policy, advocated by the Editor, of creating these pro-British independent States in the so-called middle Europe may be inconsistent with the aims of the Soviet Union. The three Baltic States had been incorporated in the Soviet Union before the present Russo-German War and the Soviet Government may certainly demand their annexation to the U. S. S. R. on the ground of security. As for Poland, a good portion of it was also similarly made part and parcel of the Soviet Union. It is unlikely that the Moscow Government will be reconciled to its being handed over to a non-Soviet Independent Poland. Already we now notice a disagreement in this regard between the Polish Government in exile and the Moscow authorities. The Editor has also a plan of his own in regard to the Rhineland. It may be remembered that after the last war the French Government tried to set up an independent State in this region. This attempt had a very deleterious effect on German attitude towards France. The British publicists have taken pride that Britain had no part or lot in this nefarious design. It is unfortunate that the Editor is now suggesting a remedy for German malady, which may be more dangerous than the disease itself and which had been condemned unequivocally by sane British opinion in years immediately following the Treaty of Versailles. It seems that many British publicists have become enamoured of exploded dogmas and principles. It is not by such obscurantism that a nation can maintain its leadership in a fast-changing world.

British Policy and British Empire

In a recent issue of the *Fortnightly* a writer contributed an article on "The British Empire in the American *Century*." We are taking notice of it as the contents of this article may give us an indication as to the trend of British thought in regard to the Empire. There are many who are either out of touch with British opinion or take only a superficial view of British declarations and pronouncements. They may think it possible that although during the continuance of the War Britain may not do anything to conciliate Indian political demand,

it is certain that once the War is won, substance of freedom and self-government will be granted to the Indian people. The trend of British thought as indicated in the article to which we are referring does not appear to be exactly in that direction. The writer takes notice of the American opinion that there is no place in the post-war world for such an organisation as the British Empire. To this American demand for the withdrawal of British control over territories in Africa and Asia he makes a reply which he thinks to be cogent and effective. He points out that Britain without her empire will be in the same position in Europe as Austria before the *Anschluss*. Certainly the British people will not be reconciled to this position. They must maintain their leadership and to that end must maintain the Empire as well. After the War London will no longer be as great a financial centre as it was before it. In fact it should not be expected that by financial service Britain will remain great. She must depend increasingly upon her industries. But without the raw materials in African and Asiatic territories these industries will die automatically. So it is essential that Britain must have political hold over these territories so that she may exploit the raw materials available there. The writer thinks that this is a very simple and straightforward matter which the American public should understand and appreciate, especially because it controls the raw materials of entire North America. So long live the Empire.

Sterling Balances

As a result of a favourable balance of trade, due to the exigencies of war, Indian assets in terms of sterling have grown to a respectable proportion. The question arose as to what would be done with these assets. A good part of them was, of course, utilised in liquidating the sterling debts of India. But what should be done with the rest? Indian opinion has been almost united on this subject. It is strongly in favour of the remaining asssets being used in liquidating as far as possible British investments in the form of debentures etc., of public utility concerns and in the form of shares and stocks of many industrial concerns in this country. It also demands the conversion of these sterling assets into dollars and otherwise into more secure reserves against the rapid expansion of paper currency in India. But British opinion which took the alarm even at the liquidation of a good portion of India's sterling debts was appalled at the further suggestions of the Indian public. It took it that the carrying out of these suggestions would mean the liquidation of the British economic imperialism, the very idea of which was preposterous. In view of this it is no surprise to us that the Government of India have made other proposals for the utilisation of the assets. The Hon'ble the Finance Member has let us know that first of all these assets would be utilised in creating a fund and in purchasing a "tapering annuity" from which the sterling pension and provident fund liabilities to Government servants would be met. Mr. K. C. Neogy pointed out in the Central Legislative Assembly that the step proposed to be taken was on all fours with the demand which was made before the Joint Select Committee by retired British officials. Secondly, the Government of India propose that the remaining assets would be made into a reconstruction fund which would enable the Government to purchase in England capital goods after the conclusion of the war. In other words the sterling balances would be used not for ending British economic imperialism in India but partly for ensuring British exports to this country and partly for making secure the pension and provident fund of retired British officers. The proposals are partly at least an unconscious imitation of blocked account in the system of Nazi Exchange Control.

Refugees from Burma

Recently a question was put in the Bengal Legislature to the Chief Minister regarding the responsibility of the Government towards the many refugees from

Burma, who are now in a helpless condition in this province. In many of these cases the earning members after sending out the women and children of their families to India found it impossible at a later stage to leave themselves. They are consequently in the custody of the enemy at present. In other instances either the earning members did not survive the hardships which the long trek to this country involved or have found it impossible to secure employment. The result is, it may be repeated, that these families are in abject helplessness. The responsibility in regard to their welfare attaches as much to the Government of India and the Provincial Governments as also to the Government of Burma which is functioning in this country at present. In this connection we may refer to the camp of Polish refugees which is being maintained in the State of His Highness the Jam Sahib. A writer in a recent issue of the *Sunday Statesman* observed that the Jam Sahib has provided the quarters but the other expenses in maintaining the camp are being met by the Government of India. A few hundred Polish children and young persons are not only being provided with free board and residence in this camp but are being given every facility of general education and special training for particular kinds of jobs which also are being kept ready for them in this country. We do not grudge very much the assistance which is being given by the Government of India to the Polish people in this hour of their national calamity. But charity to be fruitful should begin at home. We shall be glad to know that an elaborate camp not only with boarding and lodging arrangements but with all the paraphernalia of a teaching institution has been set up on similar lines for rearing in proper atmosphere the Indian children who are refugees from Burma and are in a helpless condition to-day. We may also refer to the fact that although the League of Nations is in a moribund condition, the Indian exchequer still contributes nearly one million rupees per year to this organisation. For some years before the War the League set up a refugee office which was to work under the supervision and control of Sir Herbert Emerson as Refugee Commissioner. This office was to look after the Jewish refugees of that time. We believe that the League may justify the financial contribution it enjoys from India by doing something definite and concrete towards the alleviation of distress among the Indian refugees from Burma. While, however, we refer to the Government of India and the League of Nations, we should also emphasise that the primary responsibility in regard to these refugees attaches to the Government of Burma which should not think that its responsibility ceases as soon as it makes suitable provision for the clamorous Europeans, Anglo-Burmans and highly connected Indians from Burma. It should know that its responsibility is greater in respect of the silently suffering middle-class families without influential connections.

Responsible Government in Bengal

Recently the Hon'ble the Chief Minister of Bengal observed in the Legislative Assembly, possibly under a sense of frustration and in a mood of exasperation, that his position was helpless in the governmental organisation of the province and that he was absolutely "fed up" with the existing arrangement of things. That provincial autonomy and responsible government have become mere phrases without the meaning that they should ordinarily convey, was testified to some time ago by the resignation of Dr. S. P. Mookerjee from the Ministry. This testimony has now been further reinforced by the utterances of the Chief Minister on the floor of the popular house of the provincial legislature.

When one reads through the Government of India Act, 1935, and the papers leading to it, one may think that possibly the object of this enactment was not only ostensibly but really to introduce in the provinces government by Ministers responsible to the legislature. It is true that the authority of the Ministers was circumscribed to a considerable extent by the powers which were

conferred upon the Governor to be exercised by him in his individual judgment and in his discretion. It is also true that the Act itself provided that the Council of Ministers would be there only to aid and advise the Governor. It is further true that neither the continuance of the All-India Services with their peculiar conditions of service nor the rules of business framed by the Governor in his discretion are consistent with the formation of an executive, responsible to the local legislature and through it to the local electorate. But while these are limitations, and far-reaching and unjustifiable limitations at that, upon the powers of the Ministers and may be a strain on the mind of even a very optimistic interpreter of the Constitution, nonetheless the Act itself, when read as a whole, along with the Instrument of Instructions to the Governors, the Explanatory Memorandum and other relevant papers may give him the impression that the government of a province is normally to be a government by the Council of Ministers. In other words, just as the legislature will hold the Ministers responsible for the administrative measures, so also the initiative and the final authority in regard to these measures would be normally exercised by them.

But even an inveterate optimist will stumble upon the special responsibilities which were conferred upon the Governor under Section 52 of the Constitution Act and which he is to exercise in his individual judgment. They were drawn up on so wide, so comprehensive and so all-embracing a basis as virtually to include every field of provincial administration. Besides, whether a matter is included in these special responsibilities or not, the Act allows the Governor himself to decide. Once the Governor makes such a decision, it ceases to be a matter of dispute and cannot be carried to a court of law. It may be said that the framers of the Act, with their intention to introduce responsible Government in the provinces, could not possibly have expected these special responsibilities to be interpreted by the Governors very logically and rigorously. These were to be interpreted broadly and liberally and in fact to be kept in reserve for use only on extraordinary occasions. But if the Governors interpreted them in a reactionary way and were supported by the Governor-General and the Secretary of State in such interpretation, the Ministers would be helpless and responsible governent would be ended. The Chief Minister and Dr. Mookerjee have convinced the people that it does not exist in Bengal.

Administration by the Ministers involves the exercise of certain definite powers, without the existence of which such administration becomes meaningless. For instance, it is implicit in a responsible government, however limited its scope may be, that the Ministers must have authority over the permanent civil servants who constitute the instrument of administration in the province. The Ministers must have the right to transfer them from one place to another in the interests of administration, to take disciplinary action againt them, whenever such action becomes necessary, and to appoint to important positions under them those civil servants whom they may regard as suitable and appropriate. Without such rights the Ministers really cease to be the political and administrative heads of their departments. But under the Government of India Act, 1935, not only the members of the All-India Services have an extra-provincial and extra-Indian affiliation and not only they enjoy the protection of their rights and privileges by the Secretary of State, who is responsible for their recruitment, but what is more, it is one of the special responsibilities of the Governor to see to it that their 'legitimate interests' are safeguarded. As to what these legitimate interests are and as to how they may be really protected, there may certainly be difference of opinion. But as the Governor has the final say, he may use his individual judgment in extending his power to any and every aspect of the posting, transfer, and promotion of the civil servants. It is true that much of the exercises of this power may appear very irrelevant and on the face of it even *ultra vires*, but if the Governor insists on exercising such power and if he is supported by his Chiefs, the

Ministers are simply helpless. We may repeat that the Act is so drafted as to make it possible for the Governor to make such encroachment upon the Ministerial province. As regards the appointment of particular officers to particular posts, it seems that the initiative lies only with the Ministers and not with the Governor. But again the latter may, by way of exercising his special powers, can veto the proposal of a Minister and substitute another in his place. So ultimately it may become meaningless that the initiative lies with the Ministers. But it is very strange that even the initiative which may be made meaningless by subsequent veto has not been left to the Ministers.

In the province of Bengal as a result of the Governor exercising virtually all powers regarding posting, transfer, promotion, etc., many of the higher civil servants have become so encouraged as to snap their fingers at the Ministers. Dr. Mookerjee referred in a recent speech in the Provincial Legislative Assembly to a civil servant who wrote across an order issued by the Provincial Government that he would not, as an officer of the Imperial Government, carry out the order which was, in his opinion, unwise. The way he declared himself to be an officer of the Imperial Government and as such not amenable to the discipline and control of the Provincial Government and the way he refused to carry out the orders of that Government are astounding. They should have brought upon him the highest punishment possible. We remember the instance of Mr. A. P. Pennel of the Indian Civil Service who, as the District and Sessions Judge of Noakhali, made certain observations because of which he was dismissed without even any compassionate allowance. This was as far back as 1901. The officer to whom Dr. Mookerjee has referred could not certainly be kept in the service without grave detriment to its discipline and *morale*. It is unfortunate, as he states that the officer has not only been kept in the service, but that no disciplinary action has actually been taken against him. This is a position which is really intolerable.

We have referred above at some length to the exercise of special responsibilities of the Governor in regard to rights and privileges of the civil servants. We may expatiate upon the exercise of such power on the part of the Governor in every field of administration. But this is not necessary. Nor is it necessary to refer at this place to the peculiar relations which the Act and the rules of business have established between the Governor and the Secretaries to the departments. We may only refer to this that they have under the Act and under the rules every right to go over the heads of their Ministers to the Governor to discuss with him important departmental matters. In fact, the drafting of the Act is such as to make the Ministers helpless in every way, although it might have been the intention of the Parliament to introduce responsible government in this country.

This position of ministerial helplessness can be remedied only by drastic amendments of the Act. Conventions may appear no-doubt as helpful. But it should be known that even in the country of their origin, the conventions have no longer the value which they possessed when Dicey wrote. In a country like India they have certainly no sanctity. They may be created to-day to be broken only the day after.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Studies in the History of the British in India.—By Dr. A. P. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.). Published by the University of Calcutta. Demy 8vo. 165 pages.

This is a collection of five separate papers on some very interesting and important topics of Indo-British History. These had all been previously published in periodicals but the author has done well in making these papers readily accessible to students of Indo-British History in this handy form.

The first two papers deal with two very important topics in the history of the English in Bengal prior to the assumption of the Dewani by Warren Hastings. "The Select Committee in Bengal and its conflict with the Council in 1770" deals with a rather obscure matter and gives us, for the first time, a very lucid account of the circumstances under which the Select Committee was first instituted, its reconstitution from time to time, and its quarrel with the Council. The paper on "Nawab Najimuddowla and the English" shows how under Spencer's government the Nawab was reduced to 'a pageant and a shadow' and the English became the real masters of the three provinces. But the most interesting revelation in this connection is the attempt made by Maharaja Nandakumar to obstruct the plans of the English. Of Nandakumar Warren Hastings wrote: "From the year 1759 to the day when I left Bengal in 1764, I was engaged in a continued opposition to the interests and designs of that man (Nandakumar) because I judged him to be averse to the interests of my employers." This was, as we now see, because Nandakumar was true to the interests of *his* employer.

The last three papers—*viz.*, *A note on the personal relations of Warren Hastings and Sir Thomas Rumbold*, *A peep into the Macartney Papers in the Historical Museum, Satara*, and *the Treaty of Mangalore*—are concerned primarily with Madras politics and give a further elucidation of the problem that the author studied in detail in his "Central Authority in British India." The author has attempted a vindication of the much-maligned Rumbold and of the Madras Government with regard to the treaty of Mangalore. He has stated his case lucidly and with a good deal of force but still, we think, there remains room for honest differences of opinion. But this is, by no means, a belittling of the merit of the papers. There can be no doubt that Dr. Dasgupta's present attempt is a very valuable contribution to the literature on Indo-British history.

I. BANERJEE

Jinnah Saheb "Please"—with an Introduction by S. A. Brelvi, Editor, "Bombay Chronicle," edited by J. P. Gupta. Published by Hamara Hindusthan Publications, 23, Hamam Street, Fort, Bombay. Price As. 8.

This is a collection of speeches, articles and resolutions on the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity made with great discrimination in order to afford a bird's eye view of its latest developments. There are about 40 such selections taken from English, American, Congress and League sources. The editor has succeeded in bringing within about 150 pages nearly all the pronouncements made on the matter from about the middle of the last year and deserves the gratitude of the reading public for the success with which *he has achieved the task* he set himself.

He Follows Christ—with Forewords by the Most Reverend the Metropolitan of India and Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, edited by J. P. Gupta. Published by Hamara Hindusthan Publications, Bombay. Price As. 8.

The aim of this book is to prove to Christian Indians that the ideals for which Mahatma Gandhi stands are those which have been advocated by such great teachers as Krishna, Buddha, Christ and Mahomed. Articles, speeches etc., dealing with satyagraha in its various aspects, which is characterised as "Christianity in action" from the pen of Mahatma Gandhi, of John Gunther and a prominent Christian Indian, are included in the book. While a special appeal to a minority community, the book nonetheless possesses an interest for all those who disbelieve in the uselessness of violence and the *utility of Ahimsa*.

Imperialism Unmasked—Edited by J. P. Gupta. Published by Hamara Hindusthan Publications, Fort, Bombay. Price As. 8.

This is a collection of articles which appeared in certain nationalist periodicals of Bombay and which tell the story of the Cripps Mission and the real reasons for its failure. It is very extensively documented by quotations from Mr. Louis Fischer who has questioned the correctness of the reasons advanced for the failure of the mission by spokesmen of the British and India Governments.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Samajik Chukti, Part I.—By Nanimadhav Chaudhuri, M.A. Published by D. M. Library, Calcutta. Pp. 183+viii. Price Rs. 2.

That a Bengali scholar has taken the trouble of translating the immortal classic of Rousseau from the French original is indeed highly gratifying. The inspiration of this venture came from Mr. Pramotha Chaudhuri who was the centre of a brilliant circle of Bengali intellectuals a generation ago. The present work, the publication of which has been delayed for years, was part of a wider scheme of translating from the original languages the acknowledged master-pieces of political science. It is a matter for regret that the scheme could not be completed.

Mr. N. Chaudhuri's translation is competent and faithful. The Bengali version of the last eight chapters of the *Contrat Social* has not been included in this volume for shortage of paper, we are told. It is to be hoped that when the second part of Mr. Chaudhuri's work is published, it will include fuller notes on the important passages of Rousseau which must materially increase the usefulness of this translation to the ordinary Bengali reader. A critical essay on the significance and the limitations of Rousseau will also be welcome and we hope Mr. Chaudhuri will crown his efforts in this manner. We shall look forward to the publication of the second part of this work.

S. C. SARKAR

Ramdas and Sivaji.—By Charuchandra Dutt, I.C.S. (Retd.). Published by the University of Calcutta. 1941. Pp. 373.

The book under review embodies the Adharchandra Mookerji lectures delivered by the author in Bengali at the Calcutta University. Mr. Dutt who was a member of the Judicial Branch of the Indian Civil Service and passed many years in the Bombay Presidency as a District and Sessions Judge had an excellent opportunity of acquainting himself at first hand with the life and traditions of Maharashtra. He also developed a great admiration and a high regard for the career and achievements of the two men who are the subjects of study in this work. His purpose of delivering

these lectures, he observes in his preface, is pre-eminently to pay his tribute of respect to the two great personalities. In other words he writes as a worshipper and a devotee. But his enthusiasm is supported by scholarship and intimate acquaintance with the sources of the history of Sivaji's times. It is true that in many instances he holds opinions and cherishes views which historical scholarship may not uphold. But even when he holds these views, he holds them inspite of, and not in ignorance of, the opinions of scientific historians. Information available from all sources in respect of many of the details of the career of Sivaji is not emphatically clear. In fact the different sources yield conflicting information. In view of this it is possible even for a hero-worshipper with a trained mind to write his account from his own standpoint without committing positive historical inaccuracies.

The life of Ramdas which is contained in the first chapter of the book is written on the basis of traditions. Regular sources of history are lacking in this instance. The author not only knows it but has warned the readers that the story which he has strung together as to the life of Ramdas should not be taken as a historical sketch. Nobody can, therefore, quarrel with the author in this regard. When, however, he expatiates on the influence of Ramdas's life and teachings upon the people of Maharashtra in general and upon Sivaji in particular there may be two opinions. He tolds the view that Maharashtra stood the risk of being exclusively religious-minded and thereby as inactive as Bengal became under the influence of Chaitanya. If Maharashtra was saved from it and if activism in political and military fields was combined in Maharashtra with religious enthusiasm, this was due to the influence of Ramdas's life and teachings. But students of history will remember in this connection the initiative which Malik Ambar took in organising guerrilla bands among the Mahrattas and the tradition of activism which he thus created and which grew in volume and strength as decades passed by. Did again Sivaji become what he was because of Ramdas's inspiration and influence? Here of course there is an unending opportunity for surmises and guesses according to the predilection of the writers and readers. It may be pointed out by a student of history that if Sivaji became a politician, a fighter and the builder of a kingdom, that was because the blood of a politician, a fighter and a jaigirdar with infinite ambition was in his veins. The tradition was there and he only outstripped his forerunners in ability and success. If again he was a religious man and believed in Dharmarajya, for that also he need not have drawn inspiration from outside. Was not his own grandfather rewarded very unexpectedly by Bhawani?

Those who have read the former publications of Mr. Dutt are acquainted with his felicitous style in Bengali. This book is also written in that clear, lucid and attractive style and one would read the book from cover to cover without stumbling on a passage which is dull and uninteresting.

N. C. Roy

The Vedanta-Paribhasha of Dharmaraja Adhvarindra.—Translated and Annotated by Swami Mādhavānanda of Belur Math, with a Foreword by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D. (Cal. & Cantab.), D.Litt. (Rome). Pp. 248 + xviii. Price Rs. 3.

The publication of the handy volume under review removes a long-felt desideratum on the part of those who take up Vedanta as a special paper at the M.A. Examination in Philosophy of the Calcutta University. In respect of its popularity as an epistemological treatise of the *Advaita Vedānta* school of thought the *Vedānta-paribhāṣā* brooks no rival, and any attempt to make it readily accessible to wider circles of readers beyond the studious cloister cannot but meet with unqualified support. We heartily endorse in this

regard Dr. Dasgupta's opinion that "the public owe a deep debt of gratitude for this work to Swami Mādhavānanda."

The scrupulous care and admirable precision, with which the work of translation and annotation has been carried out, are clearly symptomatic of the missionary zeal and religious ardour of the order of which the author is the acknowledged head. Even in the context of acquired unfamiliarity of the translated texts, we catch the tenor of commendable restraint and brevity, displayed throughout in the original by Dharmarājādhvarīndra with all his mastery of the technique of the *Navya-nyāya* school of this country. The resolute and relentless thinking evinced by the author, and following him, the translator, is a fresh attestation to Hegel's autobiographical suggestion that thinking is also Divine service, or Bradley's apologetic remark that the intellectual effort to understand the universe is a principal way of thus experiencing the Deity. Without raising the dust of controversy, what we venture to affirm is that this part of the all-round spiritual ministration, to which the Order stands committed, is no less vital than the other items of humanitarian services for which it is deservedly popular. The publication of this monograph in English translation and annotation is at once a welcome confirmation of this belief and a valuable addition to its illustrious library of Philosophy, which already commands an international reputation. Beyond expressing with the author, the hope, far too modest and problematical, that 'the book in its present form' will 'popularise the study of Vedanta among the English-knowing people in all parts of the world,' we do claim that the author has, in and through the thankless task of translation, earned here and now the grateful thanks of inquisitive readers.

Sarojkumar Das

Women and Social Injustice.—By M. K. Gandhi, with a Foreword by Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur and an Index. Published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. xii+276. Price Rs. 2.

It is a regrettable fact that many, both in and outside India, labour under the misapprehension that Mahatma Gandhi has devoted himself so exclusively to the preaching and practice of Ahimsa, specially as a means for winning political independence, that he has not bestowed much attention on the solution of our social problems which are also equally insistent. Such people argue that the real motive for his organisation of the All-India Spinners' Association, the All-India Village Industries Association and even the Harijan Sevak Sangh is the desire to advance our economic interests and to remove the disabilities from which our depressed class brethren suffer principally because he feels that political progress would be delayed without taking effective steps in these directions.

There are others who hold, that Mahatma Gandhi is orthodox to the extent that he would prefer India's strict adherence to all the religious and social customs we have inherited from our ancestors. These draw our attention to the opinions he has expressed with regard to Varnasram, inferring therefrom that he is a believer in the caste system, to the various statements he has made from time to time with regard to the propagandist activities of Christian missions as well as to his study and exposition of Hindu scriptures, specially the Gita.

All these people apparently forget that Mahatma Gandhi in spite of his prodigious energy and his capacity for work, is flesh and blood and that therefore his powers are limited. As such, it is not possible for him to engage in or to supervise activities in every one of the many and various spheres of life wherein improvement is necessary in order to make India strong and happy.

But even with the limitations inevitable under these circumstances, Mahatma Gandhi has realised the social injustice from which our women suffer. And Raj

Kumari Amrit Kaur has done a great service to us by bringing together in one volume the more important of the pronouncements of Mahatma Gandhi on this vital question which concern not less than half of the total population of India.

While it is true enough that the book is primarily meant for women, it is also a fact that its contents are worth careful study by men if only for the reason that it points out, with the utmost possible frankness, the lack of consideration or rather of fairness of which they, as a class, have been guilty and which they can easily avoid if they care to give effect to the lessons the book seeks to convey.

Another fact which should not be overlooked is that while there might be, as there actually is, difference of opinion as regards the correctness of the views expressed in the other volumes of this valuable series published by the Navajivan Press such as "Economics of Khadi," "The Indian States' Problems" and "Christian Missions," not one of us would care to deny that what Mahatma Gandhi has said in the contributions included in the book under review is true of Indians, irrespective of caste creed and race, and that as such it should be welcome to every one of us who takes any interest in the future progress of our motherland.

That Mahatma Gandhi is no blind admirer of our ancestral customs is proved when we find him stating, "The saying attributed to Manu that for woman there can be no freedom is not to me sacrosanct" or again, "It is sad to think that the Smritis contain texts which can command no respect from men who cherish the liberty of woman as their own and who regard her as the mother of the race." The realisation of this most important function of women has made Gandhiji observe: "I am uncompromising in the matter of woman's rights. In my opinion she should labour under no legal disability not suffered by man. I should treat daughters and sons on a footing of perfect equality."

It is therefore that time and again Mahatma Gandhi has condemned prostitution and its variant the *Devadasi* system, the giving of dowries and pardah, child marriage and enforced widowhood. Equally strong is his censure of the marital slavery of women mainly caused by their economic dependence on their husbands. Recognising that these injustices result from man's lust, he has pleaded for Brahmacharyya which he has himself observed for half a century or more, the natural consequence of which has been his objection to birth control.

The high place Mahatma Gandhi has assigned to women and the national work he expects from them become evident when we remember how often he called for their moral support and even their active help during the Non-Co-operation and the Civil Disobedience movements and the enthusiastic way in which they responded and are responding to his appeals proves the hold he has on them. He has also utilised with great success their services for the furtherance of the work of the All-India Spinners' Association, the All-India Village Industries Association and the Harijan Sevak Sangh.

The reader is left to read and enjoy the various contributions of Mahatma Gandhi brought together in this volume. These number nearly one hundred and have been selected with great care and discrimination. No less important is the illuminating preface contributed by the editor who deserves the gratitude of her readers for the labour she has undergone, and the ability she has shown, in making her selection from the mass of materials available.

A suggestion the reviewer would like to make to the publishers is that they should take steps to bring out at least two volumes in their series, dealing with Gandhiji's pronouncements on Untouchability and on the Hindu-Muslim question.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Ourselves

[*I. The University and Gandhiji's Fast.—II. Deans of the Faculties for the year 1943-44.—III. Mr. Horace G. Alexander,—IV. Sir A. Fazlur Rahman.—V. New Doctors of Philosophy.—VI. Expansion of Research Activities of the Science College.—VII. Ajit Mookerjee.—VIII. Convocation.—IX. The Chinese Mission at the Asutosh Museum.*]

I. The University and Gandhiji's Fast

On the 24th February Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, who presided over the meeting of the Syndicate in the absence of the Vice-Chancellor at Poona, made a reference to Mahatmaji and his health. The following resolution was also unanimously adopted on the occasion, "The Syndicate of the Calcutta University express their deep concern at the grave state of health of Mahatma Gandhi. They hope and pray that he may survive the present ordeal. The Syndicate fervently trust that for the good of India and for the sake of international goodwill a way may yet be found to give effect to the united wishes of the people of India, so that the life of one of the greatest men of the age may be saved."

On the 7th March, five days after the successful termination of Gandhiji's fast, a thanksgiving meeting was held at the Darbhanga Library Hall. It was presided over by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Bidhanchandra Roy, and was attended among others by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee and Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker. Dr. Roy, who had been at Poona throughout the anxious period of the fast and was by the side of Gandhiji when he broke it after prayer on the 3rd of March, delivered a fervent speech. He observed that it was nothing short of a miracle that Gandhiji survived the great ordeal. His rallying after the crisis when he almost expired was baffling to medical science. It could be traced only to supra-human causes. Many reasons have been advanced by many people for the undertaking of the fast by Gandhiji. But Dr. Roy felt, as he watched him from day to day, that it was nothing less than a great *tapasya*.

* * *

II. Deans of the Faculties for the year 1943-44

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee has been elected the Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Professor Meghnad Saha of the Faculty of Science, the Hon'ble Justice Charuchandra Biswas of the Faculty of Law, Mr. Prabhatnath

Banerjee of the Faculty of Engineering and Dr. Umaprasanna Basu of the Faculty of Medicine.

* * *

III. Mr. Horace G. Alexander

Mr. Horace G. Alexander, M.A., formerly Scholar of King's College, Cambridge, and Director of Studies at Woodbrooke, the Quaker College at Birmingham, was invited by the University to deliver a course of Extension lectures on "Conflict and Co-operation in Modern European History." He delivered the lectures on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th and 25th of March last.

* * *

IV. Sir A. Fazlur Rahman

Sir Fazlur Rahman, Kt., M.A. (Oxon.), has been nominated to be an Ordinary Fellow of the University *vice* Khan Bahadur Tafazzal Ahmad whose term has expired. Sir Fazlur has been attached to the Faculty of Arts.

* * *

V. New Doctors of Philosophy

Mr. Ataul Hakim, M.A., has been admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. His thesis was entitled "The Arabs and Mathematics" and was examined by a board consisting of Dr. Bibhutibhusan Dutt, D.Sc. (now known as Swami Vidyaranya), Dr. A. N. Singh, D.Sc. and Mr. Satischandra Ghosh, M.A. Mr. Srichandra Sen of the Department of English of this University has also been admitted to the same Degree. His thesis was entitled "The Twetieth Century English Novel" and was examined by Messrs. Herbert Read and Edwin Muir and Professor N. K. Siddhanta. We congratulate Dr. Hakim and Dr. Sen.

* * *

VI. Expansion of Research Activities of the Science College

The Syndicate has appointed a Committee to recommend steps necessary for the expansion of the activities of the Science College as a research institution. The Committee consists of the following members:

1. Vice-Chancellor.
2. Sir U. N. Brahmachari.
3. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Biswas.
4. Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee.
5. Professor J. N. Mukherjee.
6. Sir A. Fazlur Rahman.
7. Professor Meghnad Saha.
8. Professor B. C. Guha.

VII. Ajit Mookerjee

Ajit Mookerjee, our Ghose Travelling Fellow for 1940-41 and Bengal Government Scholar, has just returned from England. He secured at the London University special training in the "History of Art" and in Museology. He is the first Indian student to work on folk and primitive art and his book "Folk Art of Bengal," a valuable publication, and his various other contributions in this field earned for him the Fellowship of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

* * *

VIII. Convocation

The annual Convocation was held this year on the 12th and the 13th March. On the 12th the B.A. and B.Sc. graduates received their Degrees and they were addressed by Sir A. Fazlur Rahman in the absence, through illness, of Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan. Sir Fazlur, who had been the Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University and then a member of the Federal Public Service Commission, is now the Sheriff of Calcutta. On the second day, M.A., M.Sc. and other candidates received their Degrees and the Convocation was addressed by the Vice-Chancellor and the Chancellor. We are printing in this issue all the three speeches.

* * *

IX. The Chinese Mission at the Asutosh Museum

The Chinese Educational and Cultural Mission paid an informal visit to the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, University of Calcutta, on the 27th February last at the request of Dr. S. P. Mookerjee to see the Exhibition of Contemporary Indian Paintings organised under the auspices of the Indian Society of Oriental Art and the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art. Dr. Kalidas Nag, Hony. General Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal, and Mr. D. P. Ghosh, Curator of the Museum, took them round the Exhibition. They very much appreciated the works of the modern Bengali School of painting and Dr. Ku, the Vice-Minister of Education and leader of the Mission, left the following message in Chinese at the Museum :—

"To-day, I, as minister to China that had been separated (from India) by a thousand years, wish India will pass over all in the merciful barge."

NOTIFICATION

VINCENT MASSEY SCHOLARSHIP FOR 1943-44

ANNOUNCEMENT

1. Applications Invited.

Applications are invited for the *Vincent Massey Scholarship* for 1943-44. (The Trustees of the Vincent Massey Scholarship Committee have agreed that the Scholarship should be awarded annually as heretofore on the understanding that the scholars selected proceed to Toronto for Graduate study when it is practicable. The successful candidate will be expected to maintain touch with the field of intended specialization, in case there should be any considerable delay before he can actually take up his Scholarship.)

2. Nature of the Scholarship.

This Scholarship has been made possible by the generosity of the Hon'ble Vincent Massey of Canada as a token of good-will towards India. The Scholarship is of the value of $ 2,000 (inclusive of all expenses) and is tenable for one year at the University of Toronto for Post-graduate work (ordinarily Master's degree).

3. The Award of Scholarship.

The Scholarship is to be awarded by His Excellency the Viceroy on the recommendation of a Committee of Selection. The General Secretary of the Y. M. C. A.'s in India is the Secretary of this Committee. In addition to the value of the Scholarship, the University of Toronto has agreed to remit the regular tuition fees in the case of this Scholarship. This concession will not apply to laboratory fees for sciences.

4. Qualifications of the Applicants.

The applicants should be *holders of a first class M.A., M.Sc., or an Honours degree.*

5. Subjects available at the University of Toronto.

Opportunities for Post-graduate students at Toronto are available in the following subjects:—Greek, Latin, Semitics, English, History, Political Science and Economics, Law, Sociology, Social Psychiatry, Philosophy, Psychology, Educational Theory, Mathematics, Physics, Astronomy, Biology, Botany, Anatomy, Bio-chemistry, Zymology, Physiology, Food Chemistry, Pathology and Bacteriology, Pathological Chemistry, Chemistry, Geology and Palaeontology, Mineralogy, Hygiene and Preventive Medicine, Physiological Hygiene, Epidemiology and Biometrics, Anthropology, Pharmacology, Agriculture.

6. When and to whom to Apply.

The applications for the Scholarship should reach the undersigned not later than the 15th April, 1943, on the prescribed form in triplicate, which can be had for four annas from the undersigned. The copies of the testimonials must be submitted on papers specially provided with the applications.

7. Calendar of the School of Graduate Studies.

(*a*) The Calendar of the School of Graduate Studies of the University of Toronto for the year 1931-32 was sent to the Registrars of all the Universities in India with the request that it may be made available to the public for consultation, through University libraries.

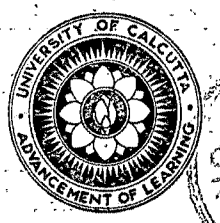
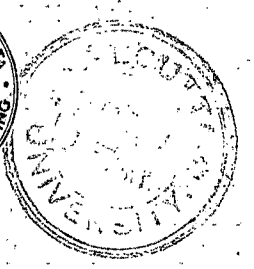
(*b*) A summary of the Calendar is available from the undersigned on receipt of four annas in stamps.

N.B.—(*i*) Women candidates are not eligible for this Scholarship.

(*ii*) Applications should be addressed to the undersigned by designation and not by name.

D. F. McCLELLAND,
Hony. Secretary.
Vincent Massey Scholarship Selection Committe
5, Russell Street, Calcutta.

16th February, 1943.

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

MAY, 1943

SUSPENSION OF ROWLATT SATYAGRAHA AND ITS EVALUATION

H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A.

IN the message dictated to Shree Mahadev Desai immediately after his arrest at Palwal on his way to Delhi on the afternoon of the 9th April, 1919, and which had been read out in all meetings held in different parts of India to protest against Rowlatt Act, Mahatma Gandhi had stated:

"A departure from truth by a single hair's breadth or violence committed against anybody, whether Englishman or Indian, will surely damn the great cause the *Satyagrahis* are handling."

It had been hoped that this advice would be given effect to by those who had chosen to follow him. But the reports received from Delhi and Calcutta where the spirit of violence had appeared though not in any pronounced form, the stone and brickbat throwing at Bombay, the looting and destruction of property, the assaults on officials, European and Indian, and the murder of some of them at Ahmedabad, the regrettable incidents at Nadiad and Viramgam, had convinced India's great leader that *Himsa*, the spirit of violence, was abroad.

Mahatma Gandhi had sternly rebuked the Bombay public and told them that it was not *Satyagraha* but *Duragraha* which they had manifested. What he saw at Ahmedabad shocked him beyond words. When he was approached by some leading citizens of this place to suspend Satyagraha, he at once stated that it was his intention to do so, a fact mentioned in his autobiography. Then came his visit to Nadiad, already referred to, where the wisdom of this opinion was confirmed. It was

here that he stated that it was only when a person has scrupulously obeyed the laws of society that he was qualified to offer civil disobedience. He confessed that the "Himalayan miscalculation" of which he had been guilty lay in launching the movement before the people had prepared themselves for it.

While addressing a meeting held on the 18th April, 1919, after his return to Bombay, Mahatma Gandhi advised the temporary suspension of civil disobedience. He made it clear that so far as he was concerned, there was absolutely no change in his attitude towards the Rowlatt Act to which he ascribed the prevalent unrest. He also stated it as his opinion that violence would not have appeared at Ahmedabad and the other places in Gujerat if Government had not irritated the people by forbidding his entry into Delhi and the Punjab:

"I give this advice (suspension of Satyagraha) not because I have less faith now in its efficacy but because I have, if possible, greater faith than before. It is my perception of the law of Satyagraha which impels me to suggest the suspension. I am sorry, when I embarked upon a mass movement, I under-rated the forces of evil and I must now pause and consider how best to meet the situation."

Gandhiji has told us in his autobiography that many of his friends and followers felt very unhappy over the decision he had taken. The attitude of a section of men who held that the withdrawal of Satyagraha was due to lack of courage has been summed up well by K. M. Munshi who on page 9 of his "I Follow the Mahatma" has given his personal reaction in the following words:

"I felt deeply humiliated at having a leader who, I thought, had not the courage to face the natural consequences of his own plans."

Others regarded the preservation of a non-violent atmosphere in a mass movement as impossible. These argued that any struggle on a mass scale to which this was a condition precedent was an impossibility and if that was so, some other technique had to be evolved to fight Government.

Gandhiji, however, was adamant. True to his principles he, in his own language, "was firmly of opinion that those who want to lead the people to Satyagraha ought to be able to keep the people within the limited non-violence expected of them" thus transferring the responsibility for maintaining a non-violent atmosphere to the leaders.

The step taken by him to imbue the masses with the principles of Satyagraha was the creation of a band of well-tried, pure-hearted volunteers acquainted with them. The duty of these men would be to educate the masses. An account of how this was done is given in

Gandhiji's autobiography to which the reader is referred for detailed information.

From what has appeared previously, it is evident that, till the actual passing of the Rowlatt Bill, the agitation against it had taken the form of criticism of the measure through speeches and meetings and that arrangements for the starting of Satyagraha were made only when it was passed against the universal opposition of India. This movement was ushered in by an India-wide demonstration in the form of an All-India Hartal.

That the real character and significance of the hartal were not understood by British officials who claim intimate acquaintance with Indian affairs is evident from the following quotation of the *precis* of the prosecution launched by the Punjab Government against certain nationalist leaders of Lahore such as Messrs. Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhury, Gokul Chand Narang, Duni Chand, Dharam Das Suri and others:

"The measure commonly known as the Rowlatt Bill was passed by the Imperial Council on 18th March, 1919. Thereupon, a general conspiracy was formed by persons outside the Punjab, with whom the accused associated, to hold tumultuous meetings, and to ordain a general strike with the intention and object of inflaming popular feeling against Government and to so overawe it as to try and induce the vetoing of the measure. Accordingly, throughout India, and in the Punjab in particular, the said conspirators, including the accused, declared a general strike, commonly known as a hartal, to take place on the 30th March, intending thereby to induce disorder, paralyse the economic life of the country, and excite disaffection and hatred towards Government."

In anticipation of the objection that there is nearly always some measure of exaggeration in statements made in suits brought in court, an opinion with which the present writer does not agree where at least Government is concerned, we find the hartal described as a "general strike" by Mr. J. Campbell Ker, C.S.I., C.I.E., M.P., on page 235 of his contribution "Subversive Movements" in "Political India." This gentleman was a member of the Indian Civil Service from 1901 to 1929 and served for more than ten years in the particular branch of the C. I. D. which deals with the revolutionary and subversive side of political agitation.

Only ignorance of India's past history and of Indian sentiments explains this wrong opinion of British officials. As a matter of fact, the hartal has been the traditional expedient of Indians to draw the pointed attention of their rulers to their grievances and may be regarded as a method aimed at softening the acerbities of tyranny. In essence, it is a

silent protest against the imposition of unjust rules or laws which manifests itself by public mourning consisting in the total stoppage of all ordinary work.

In addition, we find that Mahatma Gandhi in the statement he issued on the 23rd March, 1919, described it as a "Day of National Protest and Humiliation." That all Britons were not ignorant of the real nature of the hartal is further proved by what appears on page 769 of the "Indian Year Book" for 1920 published from Bombay by the "Times of India," an old Anglo-Indian paper, where it is said that this hartal was observed "for purposes of prayer and fasting."

To British officials of a certain type, the hartal symbolising India's grief at the destruction of the liberties of her children was a matter of ridicule. For instance, Sir Michael O'Dwyer speaking on the 7th April, 1919, the day after the very successful hartal of the whole of Punjab (the news of its success in other parts of India could not have reached him) called it a "puerile demonstration."

The Rowlatt Satyagraha from the Non-Indian Angle

Mr. G. T. Garratt in his "Indian Commentary" (p. 150) has said that the agitation against the Rowlatt Act "was frankly dishonest" and he has based his opinion on the fact that in the rural areas some of those who were conducting propaganda against it told their ignorant hearers that couples before marriage would have to undergo medical examination, that all assemblies of more than three or four people including marriage parties were prohibited under its provisions, that it forbade the possession of more than two plough bullocks and various other equally unbelievable lies. Mr. Garratt before his retirement was a member of the I.C.S., in Western India.

We have also the views of Mr. J. A. Jones, C.I.E., editor of the "Statesman" from 1912 to 1924, about this matter which appears on page 80 of "Political India" edited by Sir John Cumming. Presumably he was referring to what he had heard from others in Bengal, for Mr. Jones, so far as the present writer is aware, did not know the vernacular. He said:

"Rumours were current in the bazaars that the Rowlatt Act would enable the Government to tax a man to the extent of half his income, that marriages and funerals would be taxed, and that crops might be commandeered."

It will be noticed that the lies alleged as having been circulated were not the same in every case—a fact which will be still more evident when

we compare what has appeared above with what is said on the same matter by Mr. L. F. Rushbrook Williams on page 31 of the Government of India publication, "India in 1919."

It is not suggested for even one moment that lies were not told by the less scrupulous among the propagandists. But Indians cannot be persuaded to believe that all the people engaged in the campaign against the Rowlatt Act were guilty of making such statements, that they were made on an All-India scale or that instructions to that effect had been deliberately given to them by the leaders of the movement.

Mr. Garratt has himself said, "The new powers and the new courts were a menace to liberty." If this was so, Indian nationalism was justified in entering its most emphatic protest against the Rowlatt Act in its own way and according to its own technique so long as this did not amount to a defiance of the law of the land and if here and there some unscrupulous men misrepresented the provisions of the Act, surely that can hardly be regarded as a reason for condemning the agitation against it as a whole and for saying that its All-India success was mainly due to the propagation of misrepresentations on an equally extensive scale.

The successful hartal of the 6th April, 1919, all over India proved beyond any doubt that the view put forward by officials that the agitation was a factitious one engineered by professional politicians was an erroneous one. India, including the classes and the masses, regarded the Rowlatt Act with abhorrence whence the unanimity with which it was resisted in and outside the legislature. Agitation against it gathered strength only because, rightly or wrongly, rich and poor alike regarded it as a genuine grievance.

In this connection the following lines from a speech delivered by Morley on the 26th February, 1906, in which he was criticising another equally foolish blunder of the British administration, the partition of Bengal, is worth quoting:

"It has been said, and unfortunately by an important person in India (Lord Curzon), that this demonstration of opposition in Bengal was 'machine-made opinion,' that it was the work of political wire-pullers and political agitators. I have often heard that kind of allegation made before. Governments are apt, when an inconvenient storm of public opinion arises, to lay it at the door of political wire-pullers and agitators. (Hear, Hear.) There are, however, Indian officials of great weight and authority who entirely put aside that insinuation, and who argue that these Calcutta agitators would have had no response from the people they were appealing to, if there had not been in the minds of the people a distinct feeling that they were going to suffer a great wrong and

inconvenience; and, although no doubt the agitators could form and disseminate these views, yet these sentiments and views existed quite independently of any wire-pulling or agitation."

A pronouncement such as this coming from such a quarter and made in a different context should dispose of, once for all, any criticism of the type referred to above.

The Rowlatt Satyagraha from the Nationalist Angle

It has always appeared to the present writer that Political India has never made a serious attempt to assess the results which followed from the Rowlatt Satyagraha. This is probably because the movement so far as the attainment of its immediate objective was concerned was an unmitigated failure. Nonetheless it produced certain effects, direct and indirect, to which the attention of the reader will now be drawn.

It has been stated already that on the 28th February, 1919, Mahatma Gandhi had issued a manifesto through the press in which he had called upon his countrymen to take the Satyagraha pledge to disobey certain laws until and unless the Rowlatt legislation was withdrawn and that the most influential Moderates of India had in their turn issued a joint manifesto on the 2nd March, 1919, in which they had advised the country not to adopt passive resistance. The universality and the unqualified success of the hartal of the 6th April, 1919, even after the firing at Delhi, unmistakably proved that the Moderates had little if any hold on the generality of the people.

The conclusions which follow from these facts are that leadership had passed from the Moderates to the school of political thought led by Mahatma Gandhi, that its strength lay on the hold he had on the country at large and finally that India, as a whole, had come to recognise the utter futility of terrorism as a means of compelling the British administration either to part with power or to obey her wishes and had turned, at least for the time being, to a radically different technique for the attainment of the same end though, at the same time, there was not the slightest diminution in the intensity of her ardour for political progress. India was determined to fight the Rowlatt Act tooth and nail and welcomed civil disobedience as a practical solution of the problem which faced a country which was spoiling for a fight and which, at the same time, was without arms.

Then again, India fallen on evil days and a victim of unmerited sufferings, wrongs and national humiliation was eager for vengeance. And it is more than probable that, in some areas at least, this thirst for

revenge would have manifested itself in violence—something which would have been most welcome to a certain type of officials, for it would have supplied just the excuse they needed for the adoption of repressive methods to put down what they would characterise as a rebellion—a weakness from which they cannot claim immunity even to-day. It is also equally probable that this violence would have spread like wild fire from province to province till the whole of our motherland would have been ablaze.

Just at that psychological moment, Mahatma Gandhi came forward and presented to our country, eager for a revolution, what has very happily been characterised as "a pacific solvent of its wrongs." Inspite of sporadic outbursts of violence India, as a whole, accepted the lead coming from Gandhiji. Those who had eyes to see witnessed a spiritual miracle taking place before them. It was wonderful, this change of heart, this conversion, of a whole nation.

As pointed out elsewhere, from 1916, the year in which Hindu and Mahomedan leaders had ratified the Lucknow Pact, the two communities had united in the pursuit of common political ends. The Rowlatt Satyagraha continued this tradition, the leaders of these two communities working hand in hand. In certain places where the Muslims are in a minority, where separatist tendencies had manifested themselves among Hindus of different castes as in the case of Brahmins and non-Brahmins or between Hindus of the same caste belonging to adjacent areas as for instance between Telugus and Tamils, the differences tended to be obliterated.

The correctness of this opinion is proved when we remember that in the Calcutta hartals the leadership was supplied by Mr. B. Chakravarti, a Hindu, Babu Padam Raj Jain, a Jain of Upper India, and by Messrs. Maudad Rahman and Maulvi Akram Khan, both Muslims. At Bombay, the leaders were Mahatma Gandhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Messrs. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Umar Sobhani and others. Some of these were Hindus of Maharashtra, Karnataka and Gujerat who do not always agree among themselves and others Mussalmans. At Lahore, Sikh, Hindu and Mussalman leaders combined in order to ensure the success of the hartals observed there. At Amritsar, there were two outstanding leaders, Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, a Mussalman, and Dr. Satyapal, a Hindu, who were assisted by Sikh leaders not equally well-known. At Delhi, the burden of the work was thrown on the shoulders of Hakim Ajmal Khan, Swami Shraddhanand and Dr. A. Ansari. In South India, there was unanimity among Brahmin and non-Brahmin leaders as also between those coming from the Tamil, the Telugu and the Malayalam areas.

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that the agitation was the result of the efforts of these leaders and that such sacrifices as were necessary were made by them only. The people who died or who were wounded as the result of firing in different places belonged to all communities. For instance, in the Calcutta firing, according to official accounts, there were seven deaths and thirteen other casualties. These included Hindus, Mussalmans, Marwaris and Bhatias. At Delhi there were fatalities among both Hindus and Muslims—a fact equally true of other places like Bombay and Lahore.

It is quite true that joint action in the political and the enjoyment of amenities in the social sphere are comparatively easy where educated and cultured Hindus and Mahomedans are concerned and that on account of the rigidity of caste, it is very difficult, if not altogether impossible, for the Hindu and Muslim masses to come together on the social plane. And yet this actually happened at Delhi in the All-India Hartal of the 6th April, 1919. The report submitted by the Government of India to the Parliament ("India in 1919," p. 33) states that "extraordinary scenes of fraternization occurred. Hindus publicly accepted water from the hands of Muhammadans and *vice versa* and the large and disorderly processions which made their appearance in so many places indicated both by their cries and by the banners which they bore that Hindu-Mussalman unity was the popular watchword."

The genuineness of Hindu-Muslim unity was proved by another remarkable fact. In Calcutta, Mr. B. Chakravarti, a Hindu, was invited to address a meeting held in the Nakhoda mosque. Non-Muslims were welcomed inside it and what was still more surprising was that the pulpit was offered to a Hindu. The Government of India publication referred to just now ("India in 1919," p. 34) also refers to the invitation extended to a Hindu Sannyasi, Swami Shraddhanand, to speak at the Jumma Musjid, Delhi. At Bombay too, Mahatma Gandhi and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, both Hindus, were taken to a mosque for a similar purpose. The Hindu too was equally liberal. As stated previously, at the Bombay hartal, non-Hindus were freely permitted to enter Madhav Bag and Thakurdwar—two sacred places of the Hindus where the presence of non-Hindus is always regarded with dislike.

It cannot be held that these invitations extended to Hindus by Muslims and *vice versa* were the doings of the leaders who may be regarded as more liberal in their religious outlook than the rank and file of their followers. These incidents undoubtedly prove that bigotry in the presence of a common desire for joint action was, for the time being at least, replaced even among the masses generally regarded as

fanatics, by religious toleration, the lack of which is so often a cause of communal riots.

The reason offered in "India in 1919" for this Hindu-Muslim unity is that "the casualties at Delhi (in the hartal of 30th March, 1919) included both Muhammadans and Hindus"—an explanation equally true of similar incidents which had happened elsewhere. It was the enduring of common sufferings which brought these two communities together and the time was at hand when they would learn to sympathise with each other's grievances. Thus it was that the Khilafat agitation was taken up by the Hindu community as though it was a grievance of its own which demanded redress and for which it was prepared to welcome sufferings and to undergo sacrifices.

Incidents such as those mentioned above may be regarded as pointers to and forerunners of that Hindu-Muslim unity which, on a very much larger scale, was brought about by the Non-Co-Operation Movement.

We must also remember that the political consciousness of the masses, which had been awakened by the Champaran, the Kaira and the Ahmedabad struggle and which had been further stirred by the participation of some among them in the Delhi Congress of 1918, was roused still further by this call to hartal by Mahatma Gandhi. In one sense, it may be held that their political education had not only reached but passed the primary stage for now in the hartal they were no longer passive spectators but were actually called on to do something positive. The response which came from them showed that they had profited from the lessons already taught.

The Rowlatt Satyagraha initiated that All-India Movement towards national purification which has not yet lost all its force. Leadership ceased to be associated with education, cleverness, parliamentary ability and the like. Henceforward, the spirit of self-sacrifice, sincerity of purpose, fearlessness and devotion to ideals were demanded from those who sought to be leaders in the national movement. Many old leaders insensibly receded to the background and their place was taken by a new type of men who counted no price too high for the attainment of self-government.

Last and, from the political point of view, most significant of all, the Rowlatt Satyagraha made it clear that Indians would no longer accept or obey laws which were not passed with their consent. The very conception of such a thing, previously unknown in our motherland, proved the appearance of a new spirit in India which was represented by Mahatma Gandhi.

Though abortive so far as the withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation was concerned, the Rowlatt Satyagraha prepared India for the next and a more successful mass agitation in the shape of the Non-Co-Operation Movement and gave her children some faint glimpses of its far-reaching possibilities. In this connection we should not forget that the movement was neither crushed nor did it subside through inanition on the part of the Satyagrahis. On the other hand, it was a voluntary and, from this point of view, a temporary suspension thus resembling a strategic withdrawal for a fresh grouping of nationalistic forces for another and more vigorous onslaught on an autocratic administration entrenched behind its own line of defence.

BEGGAR PROBLEM

P. KODANDO RAO
Servants of India Society, Nagpur

UNLIKE the problem of destitution and like that of leprosy, the begga problem has two aspects: the public and the beggars. In the case of destitution, the destitute alone need relief; in the case of leprosy, the public must be protected against infection and the leper saved from his disease. In the case of beggary, the public must be saved from the nuisance and annoyance, while the beggar himself must be given appropriate relief. A successful attack on both the fronts is necessary to deal effectively with the problem.

The public can be protected from the nuisance of beggary only by the prohibition of begging by some legislative enactment. This is recognised all over the civilised world. If in England, for instance, begging is still to be found, it is surreptitious; the beggars know that they are violating a prohibition and are liable to be arrested and jailed, with the result that the element of nuisance or annoyance, which alone affects the public, is eliminated.

In India, including the Indian States, the responsibility for the prohibition of begging in public places by legislation does not seem to have been universally recognised. There is one exception. It refers to the European vagrant. The European Vagrancy Act applies to the whole of British India and to British subjects in Indian States. This Act distinguishes vagrancy from beggary, though prohibiting both. A "vagrant" is defined as "a person of European extraction found asking for alms or wandering about without any employment or visible means of subsistence." Sec. 23 refers specifically to "begging" and penalises "any person of European extraction found asking for alms when he has sufficient means of subsistence, or asking for alms in a threatening or insolent manner, or continuing to ask for alms of any person after he has been required to desist." It will be noticed that asking for alms is common to both. By itself, it amounts to vagrancy; under certain qualifying circumstances, it becomes begging.

It may be noted in this connection that the Criminal Procedure Code, which applies to the whole of British India and which is largely copied in Indian States, prohibits vagrancy under Sec. 109(*b*). But it describes a "vagrant" as one "who has no ostensible means of subsistence or

who cannot give a satisfactory account of himself." This same description is applied to a "vagabond" in Sec. 55(1)(*b*). This Code, which seems to treat 'vagabond' and 'vagrant' as identical terms, does not make begging or the asking for alms an incident of vagrancy, as the European Vagrancy Act does. It has been suggested that the vagrancy section in the Criminal Procedure Code can be used to prohibit begging. But it may be argued that begging itself is the ostensible means of subsistence of the beggar. The Indian Census Report lists 'beggary' and 'vagrancy' as among the Occupations or Means of Livelihood, though Unproductive.

It is sometimes suggested that Sec. 133 of the Criminal Procedure Code, which deals with Public Nuisances, may also be used to prohibit begging because it is a public nuisance. But these are indirect and doubtful methods for controlling beggary. In any event, these two provisions in the Criminal Procedure Code do not seem to have been freely availed of to check begging.

While there seems to be no all-India legislation against beggary as such, there are a number of provincial laws, police and municipal, which do prohibit begging. And during the last few years more laws are being considered or have been passed. The Government of India published on the 15th February, 1941, an amendment of the Rules under the Indian Railways Act, prohibiting begging on railway premises and in railway trains. The Nizam's Government passed Act XX of 1350 Fasli (1941) called the Prevention of Beggary Act. The Sind Government appointed a Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Jamshed N. R. Mehta, ex-Mayor of Karachi, to report on the beggar problem in Sind, and the Committee submitted its report on the 30th August, 1941. The Mysore Government announced about November, 1941, the appointment of a Committee to go into the beggar problem in that State. The Bengal Government has drafted a Bill to deal with vagrancy in Bengal, which is likely to be considered very shortly by the Bengal legislature. Private members have also introduced bills, *e.g.*, in the Cochin legislature by Mr. M. K. Devassy on the 10th February, 1940, and in the Sind legislature by Mr. Popatlal A. Bhoopatkar on the 12th April, 1939. The Madras Government amended the Madras City Police Act (Act XIII of 1941) and the U. P. Government amended the U. P. Municipalities Act (Act VIII of 1942), and the C. P. Government has under active consideration the amendment of the C. P. Municipalities Act.

Even in places where begging has long been prohibited by law, it is nonetheless flourishing, and the public have received no appreciable relief from the nuisance or annoyance. One reason for it is that the law, where it exists, is defective or inadequate. The C. P. Municipalities

Act, for instance, deals with begging in Sec. 206. It only makes *importunate* begging an offence which is punishable only with a *fine*. The offence, again, is not cognisable. Nor is the guardian of a child beggar roped in.

The Punjab Municipal law is more comprehensive. It makes begging a *cognisable* offence; it punishes it not only with a fine but also with *imprisonnient* of either description; it provides for *admonition* for the first offence; it gives the option of committal to a *poor-house* as an alternative to jail. It, however, penalises only importunate begging. It also does not rope in those who instigate others, particularly children, to beg.

Sec. 121 of the Bombay Police Act deals with this question in Bombay. It penalises not only those who beg but also those who *direct* their children to beg; it penalises *begging* and not merely importunate begging. It does not make it clear whether the offence is cognizable. Nor does it provide either for admonition for the first offence or committal to a poor-house as alternative to jail.

The C. P. Municipal law is perhaps the least effective for several reasons. It is not easy to prove in a court of law that begging was *importunate*. Punishment by fine is in some cases inappropriate and in all cases ineffective. Unless begging is made a cognizable offence, there is very little chance of its being controlled. It is necessary to penalise not only the beggar but also those who instigate others, particularly children, to beg and live on their earnings. Notwithstanding that the Bombay Police Law is more stringent and comprehensive than the C. P. Municipal law, the Committee of Enquiry into the Cases of Destitute Children and Young Offenders, which was appointed by the Bombay Government and made a fairly comprehensive survey of the beggar problem as a whole, reported in 1934 that the Bombay Police Act was ineffective because "the punishment is comparatively light; it makes no provision for treatment on classified lines." It went on to say, "In our opinion there can be no constructive treatment of the Beggar Problem without a comprehensive Beggar Act drafted in line with the Leper Act."

Pending such comprehensive legislation, the Committee suggested that the Bombay Police Act should be amended so as to give the magistracy the power to order *compulsory detention*.

If begging is to be controlled and eliminated, it is necessary that the law should provide that *begging and not simply importunate begging* shall be an offence. It may be pointed out that Sec. 71(A) of Madras City Police Act, as amended by Act XIII of 1941, which is among the latest anti-beggary laws in India, does not qualify begging by the word "importunate." It does not find a place in Sec. 121 of the Bombay City

Police Act, as has already been noted; in Sec. 40(17) of the Calcutta Suburban Police Act; in Sec. 64 of the Bangalore Civil and Military Station Police Act; in the Hyderabad (Deccan) Prevention of Beggary Act, in the draft Bill sponsored by the Rotary Club, Calcutta; in the bill No. XLII of 1939 introduced in the Sind Legislative Assembly by Mr. Popatlal A. Bhoopatkar; or in the Cochin Vagrancy Bill introduced by Mr. M. K. Devassy.

It is also necessary to make begging a *cognisable* offence, notwithstanding the risk involved in adding to such offences in India. The Punjab Municipal Act does so. As in that Act, not only the Police but also the *Courts* should be empowered to take cognizance of the offence. If a policeman is competent to do so, there is no reason why a magistrate should not be so considered. In addition, it seems desirable that *Municipal officials* of a certain rank and above should be empowered to take cognizance of the offence.

Not only the beggar but also those who direct or permit children to beg should be penalised. The Bombay City Police Act and the Bangalore Civil and Military Station Police Act make provision for this. It is highly anti-social that children should be exploited for begging and brought up to professional beggary. They should also be penalised who instigate others to beg and live on their earnings.

There remains the question of penalty for begging. There are those who, if they must penalise begging, would go no further than impose a fine. They would not send a beggar to jail. But they do not seem to realise that jail will be the inevitable fate of those who cannot pay the fine, as for instance, the truly destitute. It is true that they will not be sent to jail for begging but for not paying the fine. In the case of those who are not destitute but beg all the same, the fine will not stop them from begging again. The following Associated Press of India message, which emanated from Secunderabad (Deccan) and which was published in the *Hitavada*, Nagpur, on the 25th September, 1940, is revealing in this connection. It said:

That beggars earn Rs. 50 a month, a salary on which many graduates in the city would be glad to work, was revealed during the recent trials of a number of persons under the Beggars Nuisance Act in the court of Mr. A. St. C. Smith, Magistrate, who sentenced them to pay fines ranging from 4 as. to Rs. 20. A majority of them paid their fines.

The message did not say what happened to the minority who did not or could not pay their fines. In any event, there is no reason to believe that all those who paid the fines stopped begging thereafter.

There are many, however, who, while they admit that fines are no adequate solution, insist that beggars should not be sent to jails, but to separate specialised institutions. For instance, Mr. Q. H. B. Starte, I.C.S., who was deputed by the Bombay Government in 1926 to report on the beggar problem in Bombay, recommended that on first conviction the beggar should be warned or only fined. He should be liable to *detention in special institutions* if convicted twice within twelve months. *Imprisonment should only be awarded for habitual escapes from institutions.* The Bombay Committee of Inquiry into the Cases of Destitute Children and Young Offenders suggested the *compulsory detention* of the beggars in two kinds of *special institutions*, the Helpless Beggars Camp and the Able-Bodied Detention Camp. *It recommended imprisonment only to able-bodied beggars who are convicted for a third time of begging or to escapes from the camps.* There is thus great reluctance to sending beggars to jails.

Those who take this view should remember that all beggars are not necessarily destitute, disabled, diseased or unemployed or innocent of criminal practices. Some beg because they must; others beg because it pays. Some beg because they will not work; others beg because they cannot find work. No system of social security services, however comprehensive, will effectively eliminate beggary, particularly in India. Not all beggars need constructive relief. Those who do not, will not stop begging, unless they are compelled to do so. Those who need it and get it, will still continue begging if only as a secondary occupation. Begging can be stopped only by making it an offence and punishing beggars. Either begging is a nuisance and therefore an offence, or it is not. If it is, then the consequences of an offence inevitably follow. The punishment may be fine or compulsory detention. If fines are ineffective, it must be compulsory detention. And *compulsory detention* is *imprisonment*, whether in jails or in specialised institutions. It should be remembered that what most beggars, like all normal humans, dislike most is compulsory detention irrespective of the place of such detention.

Even those who would agree to compulsory detention of beggars however insist that they should be confined in special institutions and not in jails, on the ground that beggars deserve treatment different from what is generally given in existing jails But that is a reason for reforming the Indian jails rather than for the creation of special institutions for beggars. Even as it is, all the inmates in jails are not treated alike, irrespective of their antecedents and requirements, of their being habituals or casuals, adults or juveniles, men or women, criminals or politicals, sick or healthy. It should be possible to adjust treatment in jails to suit the needs of

beggar-convicts. Beggars of various kinds may even be placed in separate wards, which may be named approximately.

Indian jails need reform. Efforts are being made by penal reformers to hasten a healthy change which will conform to the most enlightened standards of jail administration. The incarceration of politicals during the last few years has already brought about some progressive changes in Indian jails. Other changes may follow. But in the meanwhile Jails which are good enough for politicals may be considered equally so for beggars. The need *at this stage, to create special institutions for beggars only,* is not so overwhelming as to claim priority over other social reforms it is not the most urgent need of India. *Specialised institutions as part of prison reform will and must* come in time.

It may be recalled that the proposals recommended by the Rotary Club of Calcutta recommended that able-bodied beggars should be lodged in the Central Jail and made to work. The Sub-Committee of the Bombay Corporation recommended that professional beggars should *preferably* be sent to jail. A similar proposal contained in Mr. Popatlal A. Bhoopatkar's bill received the approval of so great a humanist as Mahatma Gandhi.

In many ways at the present time the committal of beggars to jails has advantages. In the first place, many beggars, perhaps a majority of them, who now beg because they may and not because they must, are likely to give it up for fear of being compulsorily detained in jails. To the minority of beggars, who needs must beg, it would not make appreciable difference whether they are compulsorily detained in jails or in special institutions, so long as they get food, shelter, clothing, medical service, and appropriate work. These they will get whether in jails or special institutions.

Secondly, it will be possible to tackle the beggar problem immediately and effectively. At present there are more jails than special institutions. It is far more economical to utilise to the full the jail accommodation now available rather than create new special institutions. The fact that thousands of politicals have been accommodated in existing jails during the last few years is presumptive proof that at least as many beggars can be accommodated in their place. By this means there will be considerable economy in overhead charges. A special institution for the compulsory letention of beggars must have almost as full complement of staff as a jail even if it has only one beggar to take care of.

Thirdly, it will be more economical if each province rather than each municipality was a unit for the compulsory detention of beggars. Most municipalities have no special institutions for such purposes and they are not likely to provide them for a long time to come, in view of their finances

and more urgent calls on them. But each Provincial Government has many jails under its control. If one suitable jail in each Province is set apart for beggars the needs of the whole province can be served and served immediately. Such a prison may even approximate to a special institution under a specially trained social worker as superintendent.

It has been suggested at the outset that the beggar problem has two aspects, the public and the beggars and that both needed appropriate relief. It has been pointed out that the public can get relief only by the state prohibiting and penalising begging and imposing compulsory detention on persons convicted of begging. There are, however, people who contend that the state has no *moral* right to prohibit begging unless and until it had provided an alternative, adequate and acceptable relief to the beggars, as, for instance, food and shelter to the disabled and infirm beggars, medical aid for the sick beggars, suitable work for the unemployed beggars, and doles to their dependents. It is contended that the state has no moral right to prohibit the one means of living of beggars without at the same time providing another and more acceptable one.

At present certain police and municipal acts as well as the Criminal Procedure Code penalise vagrancy and begging but do not offer an alternative means of living. The beggar is fined, and that is not finding him an alternative means of living. Or, he is imprisoned, but that is punishment and not an alternative means of living. When the beggar is discharged from jail, the state takes no responsibility of finding him a means of living. When the beggar is himself taken care of in jail, his dependents are left to shift for themselves, the state taking no responsibility for them. The laws which prohibit gambling, prostitution and the drink and drug trade, for instance, forbid certain well-established occupations without offering alternatives. If an unemployed person, who has dependents to maintain, fails to find work and resorts to stealing, the state punishes him; it does not give him employment much less doles to his dependents. When a municipal body instals an underground drainage system it throws out of work its erstwhile sweepers but does not find them alternative occupations. The sweepers were not guilty of any criminal or anti-social vocation that they should be deprived of it ; in fact, they were doing an essential social service. Nevertheless, they are thrown out of work and not guaranteed a substitute. The same happens when machinery displaces manual labour. Instances may be multiplied almost indefinitely. In fact every change disturbs the existing equilibrium and adversely affects the vested interests. But the State has not in every case accepted responsibility of guaranteeing in advance compensation for deprivation least of all, in prohibiting a public nuisance.

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It is only in the European Vagrancy Act that the State in India acknowledged an obligation, though not absolute, to find employment. Sec. 7 of the Act says that the magistrate shall, to the best of his ability assist the vagrant in seeking employment. The criminal law of the land, however, takes no constructive responsibility. It is true that it guarantees food, shelter and even work and wages to the criminals in jails, but only as incidental to punishment, but takes no responsibility for the upkeep of the dependents of the imprisoned criminals, who are innocent. In fact, it looks as if the criminal law rewards the criminals and penalises the innocent. Has the State the moral right to do so?

There are social reformers who hold that all crime is the result of social maladjustments and that the remedy is to reform the social environment so that there will be no crime to prohibit and no criminals to punish. But it may be urged that the State has the moral right to prohibit anti-social practices apart from itself modifying the social environment on the ground that the responsibility for adjustment is in the first place of the individual, and only subsequently of the society and only in the last resort of the State. It may appropriately be urged that the negative and positive aspects are independent issues. Begging, like so many other nuisances may be prohibited without necessarily being accompanied by constructive relief undertaken by the State, even as constructive relief may be organised by the State independently of any prohibitions, as, for instance, poor relief or famine relief or medical relief. The moral justification for the prohibition of begging may be sustained on the ground that it is a nuisance, an annoyance and anti-social phenomenon.

But it may well be maintained that mere prohibition, however morally justified, and socially necessary, does not, by itself, lead to the elimination of the social evil, unless accompanied, if independently, by ameliorative measures. The best results are achieved when they go together.

This brings us to the second aspect of the beggar problem, the relief of beggars. While all beggars have this in common in that they commit a nuisance, the reasons which impel them to beg are not the same. Beggars include religious mendicants, the destitute, the crippled, the disabled, the diseased, the blind, the deaf, the aged, and the infirm, juveniles and adults, men and women, natives and foreigners, the unemployed and the unemployable and the "won't works," and their dependents. It is obvious that each of these categories needs separate types of constructive relief, most of which may compendiously be gathered under the single title "social security services." It is not necessary to dilate on the scope of these services here. It is, however, necessary to point out that these services are needed, not only by those who have been

convicted of begging, but also by all those who need them ; they are of *general application* and *not special to beggars only*.

It is *qua* pauper and not *qua* beggar that a person should be afforded poor relief. It is *qua* unemployed and not *qua* beggar that a person should be given work or dole. Old age pension should be given to all aged persons and not only to those who took to begging because of their old age. Compulsory education should be provided for all children and not merely those children who took to begging. Nobody will suggest that because the law penalises the commission of certain nuisance on municipal roads, therefore public conveniences should be provided only to those convicted of such nuisances. Social security services should be developed irrespective of begging and as part of the general programme. Such services have no special reference to begging as such.

Present Methods of Relief

At the present time such social security services are being rendered by the joint family system, unorganised individual charity and organised unofficial institutions. In his Report on "Measures for the Prevention of Professional Beggary in the City of Bombay," Mr. Starte, I.C.S., said:

The beggar question cannot be separated entirely from other questions relating to the treatment of the poor. It is a remarkable fact that apart from assistance given as a measure of famine relief, no public assistance has been given hitherto as relief to the poor in India. That this absence has not led to more distress than is the case, is in itself a remarkable tribute to the benevolence of the charitable Indian public and to the value of the joint family system in supporting a poor member of the family. This is an admirable feature of Indian life, and great care needs to be taken in making any proposals that this source of assistance is not lessened by the assistance given out from the public purse.

The joint family system gave the sense and atmosphere of a home, and is in some ways comparable to the system of "boarding out" or biletting system, often recommended as best in Europe. It *prevented* begging to some extent. But it has its defects ; every home is not a home for every member of the joint-family. Moreover, under that system each joint-family was the unit for poor and other relief, and the burden was uneven as between the units. Resources and responsibilities did not always coincide. The joint family system, whatever its merit is, however, breaking up. Some other agency must step in to take over the responsibility.

The second source of constructive relief is individual charity. It is evoked partly by pity, partly by high nuisance-pressure and partly by a high sense of social obligation. It is, however, capricious, uneven, unsteady, and indiscriminate. Such charity, while it took care of some beggars, did not prevent begging. Rather it encouraged begging. It has been the most fruitful cause of adding to the beggar population. It is a relief of very doubtful value. It does more harm than good.

With the prohibition of beggary, this source is likely to dry up. To the extent that individual charity was forced by high nuisance-pressure, to that extent it will dry up when the nuisance is withdrawn. To the extent to which it was induced by pity at the sight of human suffering, to that extent it is likely to disappear when beggars disappear from public streets.

Then there are at present a few non-official, organised charities which give relief to beggars, outdoor or institutional or both. Such organisations are handicapped by inconstant zeal, uneven responsibility and uncertain finance. Institutional relief by organised bodies, even when run by unofficials, is bound to cost more than unorganised relief. Some beggars now live in miserable hovels, sleep on pavements, eat as and when they get food, enjoy no sanitary facilities and receive no medical aid. When an organisation takes charge of them, it must necessarily give them a better minimum standard, which is bound to cost more. And non-official organisations also have to depend on the charity of individuals even as beggars have to do. *They must do the begging for the beggars, and often as importunately as they ; they must copy all the sanctions which the beggars employ. Such a system does not eliminate beggary but only changes the personnel of beggars, and changes the place of begging from public streets to drawing-rooms and parlours.*

Unofficial relief is thus very inadequate and unsatisfactory. It is very necessary that the state should take over the responsibility of providing social security services on a comprehensive scale, which will incidentally relieve beggary also. The state alone has the necessary power of taxation. Taxes are discussed in public, and regulated in accordance with the resources of the tax-payer, so that none escapes who can pay, and the tax can be realised with certainty.

The State should provide both penal for compulsory detention and ameliorative institutions for voluntary resort, as it does even now when it provides jails and hospitals. A convicted person is compulsorily detained in a jail ; a sick person has the freedom to enter a hospital. Jail is for all those who have to be compulsorily detained, including those convicted

of begging. The hospital is for all the sick who seek it voluntarily and not merely to the sick-beggars.

Non-official social workers are most useful as members of advisory committees of State conducted institutions, both penal and ameliorative. They may manage institutions of the latter type, the State providing the finance. But it is quite a different thing for non-officials to manage institutions for compulsory detention. For, compulsory detention is nothing but jail, and that should be the monopoly of the State.

GIORDANO BRUNO: A STUDY IN MARTYRDOM

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GIORDANO BRUNO, as one of the forerunners of the "Age of Reason," as also the illustrious sextette—René Descartes, Benedict Spinoza, Francis Bacon, John Locke, Voltaire and Leibnitz—form, so to say, its seven lamps of architecture. It is a patent fact that the "Age of Reason" as against the dotage of the irrational and the unconscious is a theme as much of perennial as of present-day interest to the mind of man. Nearly twenty-five centuries have rolled by since the enunciation of the Socratic oracle—"a life without reasoning is unworthy of man"—but we have not outgrown the need of that reminder even to-day. The shrewd critic, with a touch of modernity about him, may, however, demur that reasoning plays but a small part in a man's life, which is mainly conducted by instincts or impulses. It is a truism that life always precedes the theory or criticism of life: we are animals before we can hope to justify, if at all, the epithet "rational." The normal functioning of reason in its healthy state is to serve as an aid to action; when it becomes an industry in itself, it breeds Hamlet-like incapacity for action. Moreover, the ease and effortlessness of the life of unreflective conformity to traditional ways of thought and action, as contrasted with the risk and rigour of the life of critical thinking, ensure the popularity of the former in preference to the latter. No wonder that Mr. Bertrand Russell is found still complaining—"Men fear to think as children fear to go into darkness." It is exactly here that we should find the reason for the reasoned as well as unreasoned distrust of Reason as an operative factor in the life of the individual or of the race. "I venture to declare," exclaimed Rousseau, the sentimental author of "Back to Nature" movement, "that a state of reflection is contrary to nature, and that a thinking man is a depraved animal"; while Bergson, in our own day, as the prophet of anti-intellectualism and intuitionism, gave the finishing blow by denouncing intellect as a constitutional materialist, misrepresenting the vital flow of Reality. For the long-drawn march of history from the *Émile* to *L'Évolution créatrice* (*Creative Evolution*)—from Rousseau to Bergson—records the story of a Romantic reaction against the Age of Reason. There is, however, nothing disheartening about this reaction; for it is the unmistakable symptom of what the psycho-analyst would diagnose

as a case of 'repressed sympathies.' The time has come when the age-old battle of Confucius against Lao-tse, of Socrates against Zeno, of Voltaire against Rousseau, of Russell against Bergson, has to be fought anew, and the ways of Reason must be justified once more against the secret service of instinct and intuition, of feeling and faith, of modernism and mysticism. But in this campaign our rallying-ground, for better or for worse, must ever be the Socratic watchword. For, 'it is a thousand times better to be Socrates in prison than Caliban on the throne'! So much by way of a prelude.

I

The typical product of that age of intense intellectual ferment created by the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Rise of the Natural Science was Giordano Bruno—unquestionably the greatest philosopher and free-thinker of the sixteenth century. Born in 1548 at Nola, near Naples, during a stormy period in the history of Italy, Bruno had the baptismal name Filippo, probably in deference to the name of the King of Spain, Naples being at the time under Spanish rule. His father, Giovanni, was a soldier, descended of a good family while his mother, it has been conjectured, from her peculiar, un-Italian name, Fraulissa, was of German descent. After some training in grammar and dialectics the boy entered, at the age of fourteen or fifteen, the Dominican order, and assumed, in conformity with monastic usage, the ecclesiastical name "Giordano." Possibly this name was given to him because of the spiritual promise he displayed; for the name was borne by the second general of the order. For any one to be christened after Jordan, the baptismal river, in the sixteenth century was a rare phenomenon. It is an irony of fate that the invocation of the baptismal river could not revoke the sentence of being burnt alive at the stake, which finally ended the earthly career of the much-persecuted Bruno, the lifelong votary of Truth! All such tales of misery and persecution, in the history of human search after truth, furnish a sad commentary upon our inherited belief that the soul of the world is just. If the goddess of Justice is painted blind, the goddess of Truth is to be represented as the unrelenting mistress that derives sadistic delight from the heartless torture of her lovers.

On entering the monastery of St. Dominic at Naples, which was still fragrant with memories of the great Dominican, Thomas Aquinas, who lived and taught there, Bruno proceeded through the usual stages to priesthood in 1572. Imbibing, as he did, the Southern vivacity of Nature, Bruno was by disposition quick, ardent, impetuous and passionate. If he had but little reticence and prudence, he could have enjoyed,

unto the last, peaceful liberty even within the confines of the sacred cloister. But that was not to be. As he combined in himself a genuine love of humanity along with a profound contempt for the *Plebs* in general, he was led to believe that his own simplicity of nature and honesty of conviction would evoke a sympathetic response in every heart. His first literary enterprise, a little work entitled the "Ark of Noah," affords apt illustration of the point as also a foretaste of what he was destined to suffer hereafter for want of a small measure of prudence. It was an allegory, based on the idea of a contest among animals in the 'Ark' for pre-eminence. It was the 'Ass' that felt perturbed in mind at not securing the first place, the coveted seat in the poop of the Ark. Now, "the poop of the Ark" symbolised in that age the seat of Reason in the soul, and the 'Ass,' as we know from his later works, was to him the symbol of human stupidity, credulity and pedantry. For example, the *Cabala*, published in 1585, is a biting, merciless satire on "divine Asinity," which is, in the sphere of practice, what submission to authority is in that of speculation, or pedantry in that of teaching. It is no wonder, therefore, that Bruno should begin to feel, during his noviciate, the cramping authority of the Council of Trent. Threatened with the charge of heresy, Bruno left Naples for Rome, and, finally, on abandoning his monkly habit, escaped from Rome. Thenceforth began the life of restless wandering throughout Europe which ended only after sixteen years, when "the Knight-Errant of Philosophy" fell a victim to the power of the Inquisition at Venice.

Having left Rome Bruno came to Nola to which the exiled Dante had repaired, thence to Savona, to Turin, to Padua, and to Milan, where he first heard of his future patron and friend Sir Philip Sydney. Then he arrived about May of 1579 at Geneva, the home of exiled reformers of all nationalities. For his unbearable free-thinking, Bruno was hounded out of Geneva, and after a short stay at Lyons came to Toulouse where for nearly two years he lectured on Aristotle's Physics. As the city was not hospitable to heretics—which fact was clearly evidenced by the burning in 1616 of Lucilio Vanini for his heresies—Bruno had to leave Toulouse and reached Paris towards the close of the year 1581, where he at once started to lecture at the Sorbonne. Here it is that he published the "Shadows of Ideas" along with a few other less known works. But here too Bruno's evil genius would not allow him rest, and on account of active resistance of Parisian youth to his teachings, Bruno went over to England in the spring of 1583.

The two years spent in England were among the happiest—certainly the most fruitful—in Bruno's career. To this period belong the most

mature productions of his genius: first, the "Ash Wednesday Supper"; second, "The Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast," which, according to Gaspar Schopp, one of Bruno's most virulent accusers, was an attack on the Pope or the Church, the supposed "Triumphant Beast"; third "On the Cause, the Principle, and the One," which is the most brilliant of Bruno's philosophical writings; fourth, "On the Infinite, the Universe and the Worlds"; fifth, "The Cabala, that is, the intricate allegory of the horse Pegasus and his appendage the Cyllenian Ass"; sixth, the "Heroic Enthusiasts," which consists of sonnets and dialogues after the model of Dante's *Vita Nuova*, and, in discussing the rise of spiritual beauty out of the sensible, is somewhat reminiscent of Plato, particularly of the *Phædrus*, the *Symposium* and the *Banquet*. At Oxford he was received rather coldly, and his philosophical heresies met with nothing but opposition from 'the home of lost causes'—which Bruno, in his disappointment, called the "widow of true science." At the "Ash Wednesday Supper" he indulged in sallies of criticism at the expense of Oxonian pedants, which gained for him a complete victory and an absolute proscription of his lectures at that ancient seat of learning. Returning thence to Paris and staying there for about a year, Bruno went over to Germany—first to Wittenberg in Saxony where he lectured for some time. Thereafter he also visited Marburg, Prague, Frankfort and Zürich, his excommunication having meanwhile taken place at Helmstadt. On the fateful invitation of one Giovanni Mocenigo, scion of a distinguished family in Venice, Bruno went up there in autumn of 1591, and on 23rd May, 1593, Mocenigo denounced Bruno and delivered him to the Holy office of the Inquisition.

II

In order to appreciate in full Bruno's own defence against the charges of heresy, one must have some acquaintance with his main teachings. Bruno starts his own historic defence by enunciating his philosophic creed of "two-fold truth," philosophical and theological—his intention being "not to impugn religion, but only to exalt philosophy." "I believe," as Bruno submitted before his tribunal and the bar of world-opinion, "in an infinite universe, the effect of the infinite divine potency, because it has seemed to me unworthy of the divine goodness and power to create a finite world, when able to produce besides it another and others infinite, ". . . . In this universe I place a universal providence, in virtue of which everything lives, grows, moves, and comes to and abides in its perfection. It is present in two fashions; the one is that in which

the spirit is present in the body, wholly in the whole, and whole, and wholly in any part of the whole and that I call *Nature*, the shadow, the footprint of divinity; the other is the ineffable way in which God by essence, presence and power, is in all and above all, not as part, not as spirit or life, but in an inexplicable way." As the universal form, spirit is all-present throughout the universe, not however materially or in extension, but spiritually, *i.e.*, intensively. To quote Bruno's favourite illustration, "Imagine a voice which is wholly in the whole of a room, and in every part of it; everywhere it is heard wholly, as these words which I speak are understood wholly by all, and would be even if there were a thousand present; and if my voice could reach to all the world, it would be all in all."

As against the imputation of atheism or pantheism it is worth our while to refresh our memory of what Bruno actually felt and wrote about God and Religion. Bruno was far from being what we should now call a Rationalist. He felt that cold reason or logic alone could not fathom the deepest nature of things which was God. His rationalism had for its inevitabe counterpart a strong undercurrent of mysticism of Neo-Platonic origin, and it is difficult to say which of these two sides predominated in his theory of the Universe. It is the mystic in Bruno that declares through love that we can approach the inmost nature of God, and to love that it is only God is to be loved by God, and thus men become united with God.

Much of the odium incurred by Bruno is traceable to his firm conviction that religion or sectarian discord was the chief cause of the evils of war and civil strifes rampant throughout Christendom. On the contrary, it is the Christian God, the Father of all, who teaches, according to Bruno, "that we should love our very enemies, not be like brutes and barbarians, but transform ourselves after the image of Him who makes His sun to rise upon good and evil, and makes the rain of His mercies to fall upon just and unjust. This is the religion which I observe, as beyond all controversy, and above all disputation, both from the conviction of mine, and in accordance with the custom of my fatherland and race." With Pompanazzi Bruno, however, believed that religion is a good thing for the many, while knowledge of Philosophy is reserved for the few. But for the sake of the many the few must conform in outward practice to the religion of their state. Another reason for his conformity was that Bruno regarded the historical religions as allegories or metaphors only. Finally, Bruno's philosophical religion is virtually a theism of the purely intellectual or rationalist type, according to which God is a tri-une essence —God in Nature, God in us, and God in Himself, who is revealed only to

our intuitive, comprehensive glance, but never knowable even to intuition. On the one hand he calls God the infinite Being, in whom power, desire, thought and activity, necessity and freedom are one and the same, the one substance of the Universe, thus equating God and Nature almost to the point of their identification; on the other he represents God as above Nature and outside of the life that animates the world and terms Him, after Leibnitz, the Monad of monads, the Substance of substances, the Soul of souls, the Supremely perfect Reason, that Light and Love, which takes delight in the continually increasing perfection of the world through the development in it of all possible forms.

It is remarkabe that with all these edifying creeds to his credit, Bruno could not appease the righteous indignation of the Holy Inquisition. Even after seven long years of the farce of a trial, during which a hope of retraction was entertained, Bruno "declared that he should not retract, that he would not retract, that he had no reason to retract, and that he knew of nothing which he had to retract." This brought upon him the inevitable doom, and on 8th February, 1600, Bruno was placed in the hand of the Governor of Rome with the customary recommendation that he be punished "with as great clemency as possible, and without effusion of blood"—the euphemistic formula for burning at the stake. When the sentence was being pronounced, Bruno is reported to have said defiantly at the judges, "Perchance your fear in passing judgment on me is greater than mine in receiving it!" This scene recalls a classic precedent in the historic Trial and Death of Socrates who is also known to have said to the judges, as the Platonic dialogue of Apology puts it, "The hour of departure has arrived, and we go our ways—I to die, and you to live, which is better God only knows!" Following up, as it were, the dying note of the Athenian martyr, this Italian votary of truth unburdened himself in words which serve as the best epitaph on his own martyrdom, "I have fought; that is much—victory is in the hands of fate. Be that as it may with me, this at least future ages will not deny of me—be the victor who may,—that I did not fear to die, yielded to none of my fellows in constancy, and preferred a spirited death to a cowardly life!"

Thus was enacted one of the greatest tragedies of history. It is not death that makes a martyr, but the cause that is upheld thereby. In and through his martyrdom Bruno exalted the human measure for loyalty to Truth and man's reverence for what is highest and best in Man. He fell like the first blossom of the spring, destined to be withered, and fail of its function. But it nurtured within itself the promise of a thousand others to follow which shall not fail but fructify in time. History records that Bruno was given neither a decent trial not a decent burial! It is on

record that after Bruno had passed away, his ashes were scattered to the winds of Heaven. The powers-that-be ordained it as a symbol of utter annihilation ; but the Power that maketh for righteousness willed it to be a case of glorious perpetuation! Not *dust* unto *dust*, but *flame* unto flame—this lesson of his life is amply illustrated by the commentary of his own end. Hardly did these authors of the martyr's last rite reckon that, by casting to the winds his ashes, they were scattering broadcast the seminal influence of Bruno's life and teachings, just as in our own mythology Lord Shiva, the Good, is known to have reduced Cupid to ashes, and thereby universalised what was strictly individual and local. Adapting it to the present case the inimitable expression of our revered poet, Tagore, in this regard, we might as well exclaim :

পঞ্চশরে দগ্ধ করে করেছ এ কী সন্ন্যাসী,
বিশ্বময় দিয়েছ তারে ছড়ায়ে।
ব্যাকুলতর বেদনা তার বাতাসে উঠে নিশ্বাসি
অশ্রু তার আকাশে পড়ে গড়ায়ে।

Who can say that the unquenchable ' fires ' of our " Heroic Enthusiast," still hidden within their ashes, are not piping through the air even to-day, in triumphant vindication of his own faith to an as yet unawakened world—

" He who is more deeply moved by the thought of some other thing does not feel the pangs of death ?"

In living testimony, as it were, to this redeeming faith of his, there occurs on the monument erected to Bruno on the site, where he was burned for seeing more clearly than those in authority in his days, the simple inscription :

" Raised to Giordano Bruno by the generation which he foresaw ! "

MAHARAJA RAJBALLABH *

DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., PH.D.

MAHARAJA RAJBALLABH is one of those leading political figures in Bengal who have earned an undying fame or notoriety by the part they played in the memorable events which led to the transference of political authority from the Muslim rulers to the British. As is the case with most of them, the current view about Rajballabh is based on popular beliefs and prejudices rather than on authentic or reliable historical facts. Fortunately, contemporary records are now available to us, and it is high time to study afresh the history of the period in order to form a sober judgment on the leading actors of the great drama.

As to the early life of Rajballabh, however, no authentic account is yet available to us and we are almost entirely dependent in regard to this part of his career upon traditions preserved in his family and among the people of the locality. It is not possible on this account to go into very minute details of the childhood and early manhood of Rajballabh. We may only introduce here those broad facts about the authenticity of which there may not be any reasonable doubt. He was born in a village called Beel-Daonia, which he later renamed Rajnagar and decorated with fine palaces and temples. It is unfortunate that this native village of Rajballabh was destroyed by the river Padma, about 1867 A.D. His father, Krishnajiban Majumdar, was known to have been employed as Khasnavis at Malkhanagar (now in the Dacca District) and was a man of some means. The year of Rajballabh's birth is not known with certainty but the family tradition fixes it at 1707 A.D. Of his early upbringing and particularly of his education, our information is too meagre. Tradition, however, ascribes to him great proficiency in Persian.

Rajballabh entered public service as a clerk (or accountant, according to Stewart) in the Admiralty (Nawara) at Dacca sometime about the year 1734 A.D. From this humble position he rose rapidly high. He

* This article is based on the writer's Adharchandra Mookerjee Lectures (1942-43). His interest in this subject was aroused not merely by the important place that Rajballabh occupied for a number of years in the tempestuous politics of Bengal in the middle of the 18th century, but by the fact that Rajballabh was his ancestor. The sources of information regarding Rajballabh may be divided into two classes, (*i*) the contemporary records (specially the minutes of the Calcutta Council, the official correspondence between Calcutta and the Nawabs and English Officers, etc.) and (*ii*) historical works by persons who lived in the latter part of the 18th century and had access to reliable information.

was promoted first to be Peshkar and then to be Superintendent. He got the latter lift in 1739, barely five years after his first entry into public service. But his promotion to the post of Superintendent in the Admiralty at Dacca almost synchronised with the loss of his patron, Sarfaraz Khan. It may be recalled that in 1740 Alivardi, Governor of Patna, revolted against his master, Nawab Sarfaraz Khan, and marched towards Murshidabad. Sarfaraz was defeated and killed on April 10, 1740 and a few days later Alivardi ascended the *masnad* of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. This revolution, although stunning for the time being, soon worked in favour of Rajballabh's further rise to power and authority. Alivardi who had no son appointed Nawazish Muhammad, the husband of his eldest daughter, the famous Ghasiti Begam, to be the Dewan of the Nizamat and Deputy Governor of Dacca (which included in its jurisdiction—Tippera, Chittagong and Sylhet). Nawazish, however, did not himself go to Dacca and was to administer the affairs of his sub-province through a Deputy who was no other than Husain Quli. But the latter also remained at Murshidabad and the administration was entrusted to Ray Gokulchand. But this arrangement did not work well. Gokulchand brought some charges against Husain Quli and the latter was dismissed from his office. But Husain soon ingratiated himself into the favour of Ghasiti Begam who was a notoriously dissolute woman and became reinstated in office. He now wreaked his vengeance upon Ray Gokulchand and brought about his dismissal. Rajballabh, who must have been looking on this scene of sordid activities from his humble station, now profited by the circumstances which he had not created and over which he had no control. Husain Quli after dismissing Ray Gokulchand appointed him as his Deputy at Dacca. This appointment was certainly the most important landmark in the career of Rajballabh.

He could not have been long at Dacca as the Dewan of Husain Quli. But he must have already given proofs of his ability as an administrator and wisdom as a counsellor ; otherwise he would not have been called to Murshidabad to advise and assist Nawazish Muhammad and his clique in the big game of politics which they were now playing at the capital. Nawazish Muhammad was not only the eldest son-in-law but also the eldest nephew of Alivardi and as such he very naturally regarded himself as his legitimate successor to the *masnad*. But Alivardi had made other plans. He made no secret of his partiality for Sirajud-daula, the son of his youngest daughter, and actually nominated him formally as his successor. Nawazish was unwilling to bow to this decision. It now seemed that once the old Nawab would cease to breathe there would be a war of succession and to that end Nawazish began to make

preparations. In the secret conspiracy which he hatched in this connection, his chief counsellors were Husain Quli and Rajballabh. The latter in consequence had to come over to Murshidabad and stay there most of the time and his duties at Dacca were performed in his absence first by his eldest son Ramdas, and after the latter's death, by his second son, Krishnadas.

Nawazish had attained great popularity at Murshidabad by his charities and by the other virtues which he possessed. His material resources were also immense. But three years before the day of contest, he became overwhelmed by the death of his adopted son, who by the way was a younger brother of Sirajud-daula himself. His health now completely broke down and he became incapacitated for work. He, however, lingered till January, 1756 but, it may be repeated, he was now physically prostrate, so much so that Siraj took advantage of the situation and removed by murder his chief counsellor and assistant, Husain Quli. These untoward circumstances, however, did not daunt his wife, Ghasiti Begam. After her husband's death, she continued her intrigues in favour of the infant son of her own adopted son. Husain Quli was no more. But she had meanwhile transferred her favours to one Nazar Ali who organised her army, fortified her palace, *Matijhil*, converted it into a stronghold for her party and became in every way prepared for the contest which would break out immediately on the death of Alivardi. Rajballabh was, of course, also by her side and was, in fact, with his knowledge of men and things, her chief adviser. Some may think that the part he played as an adviser of Ghasiti Begam and as one of the leaders of her conspiracy was unworthy of a person still holding an important office under the Nawab. But by the standard according to which actions were judged in that age, Rajballabh not only acted rightly by serving under the banner of his immediate master's widow, but if he acted differently, he would have passed down to posterity as a time-serving ingrate. In any event, the preparations of Ghasiti Begam were such as to command respect even from the English Settlement at Calcutta. Much of the credit for such preparation on the part of the Begam was given by the English to Rajballabh who was "esteemed the subtlest politician in the whole province, and one whom Souragud Dowlet was determined to draw over to his side if possible or to have him assassinated the first opportunity." Actually we have positive evidences to show that such was the importance of Rajballabh at the court of Ghasiti Begam that some time before the death of Alivardi he was brought under arrest and clapped into prison by the order of Sirajud-daula. But the Begam had still sufficient influence with her aged father to effect the release of her counsellor.

Shrewd as Rajballabh was, he felt after this incident that Siraj would leave no stone unturned to eradicate the conspiracy of Ghasiti Begam and inflict the highest punishment upon all who might have been implicated in it. A trial of strength was sooner or later inevitable and when it would come, possibly it would not be wise to depend merely upon the forces which the Begam had accumulated and which Nazar Ali had drilled. It was necessary also to enlist the sympathy and support of other powers in the country. The one obvious power to whom he might turn on behalf of her mistress was the Nawab of Purnea, Shaukat Jung. He in fact opened negotiations with him. The other power was the English at Calcutta. It must be said that to Rajballabh belonged the credit or the discredit of first appreciating the power and prestige of the English Company at Calcutta and drawing it into the intrigues of an Indian Court. The evidences in this regard are, of course, very conflicting and many of the letters written by the English officers in respect of English policy towards the Begam and Rajballabh are most misleading. But when one has scanned all the documents carefully and minutely, one is irresistibly drawn to the conclusion that an understanding was arrived at between the English at Calcutta and Ghasiti Begam and Rajballabh at Murshidabad. There must have been two reasons which impelled the English to enter into such an alliance. They must have appreciated the strength which the party of the Begam had already acquired and were possibly of the opinion that in the tussle which would ensue this party might get the better of the party of Siraj who was so unpopular. From the maze of assertions and contradictions it also appears certain that some of the high English officers were heavily bribed by both Rajballabh and his son. In any event, we find, an understanding was arrived at and the English agreed to receive and keep the family of Rajballabh, and the wealth of himself and of the Begam. They were sent to Calcutta for the sake of safety. That such an important and at the same time hazardous step would be taken by the English without a pre-arranged alliance seems to be rather absurd. In fact, Nawab Sirajud-daula and many others were convinced that the English were in league with the conspiracy of Ghasiti Begam and Rajballabh.

On April 10, 1756, the old Nawab Alivardi Khan died and events moved swiftly after it. According to one account even before his body was interred, Siraj proclaimed himself the Nawab and formally took up the reins of administration in his hands. He was now determined to root out all the thorns which might be in his side. Accordingly, before Ghasiti Begam and her allies could combine their forces and make joint efforts to oust him from the *masnad*, he hurled attacks against the fortified

stronghold of *Matijhil*. This sudden but persistent attack unnerved not only many of her soldiers but possibly herself as well. Rajballabh was then by her side. But his advice to wait for help which was to come from Purnea was not listened to. Possibly some of her chief officers were bribed by Siraj and their attitude undermined the *morale* of the rank and file. Many of the soldiers fled away and the Begam became pessimistic as to the result of her holding out. At this moment she received a visit by her mother, the widow of Alivardi Khan. She brought home to her daughter the wisdom of surrendering to the Nawab who, she assured her, would not do anything which might be humiliating to her. Ghasiti Begam accepted this mediation of her mother on one condition, which was to the effect that the life of her lover and commander of forces, Nazar Ali, must be spared and that he must be allowed to leave the territories of the Nawab in safety. This condition was accepted and Ghasiti Begam, disregarding the advice of Rajballabh and even without caring to see as to what might befall him as a result of his faithful services to her, surrendered to Siraj. She had not to wait for long to repent of her action. Siraj seized her wealth and made her virtually a prisoner in his own palace.

Rajballabh and the members of his family who were still at *Matijhil* naturally met with disgrace at the hands of the Nawab. The latter had already been informed as to the alliance which Rajballabh had chalked out with the English at Calcutta and as to the fact that his son Krishnadas was living there under English protection with the wealth of Ghasiti Begam and of his father. This enraged the Nawab, and even when *Matijhil* was undergoing the siege, he sent Naran Singh, the brother of Rajaram, the Fouzdar of Hooghly, to Calcutta to demand the person of Krishnadas and the wealth which was in his custody. The English authorities at Calcutta were, however, still doubtful as to which party would come out ultimately successful at Murshidabad and were consequently unwilling to incur the wrath of Rajballabh and the Begam by complying with the order of the Nawab. Naran Singh had, therefore, to go away empty-handed. Possibly about this time the Begam surrendered to Siraj and the latter's position became virtually undisputed. The English at Calcutta now discovered that they had backed the wrong horse. The evidences at our disposal are at this point very conflicting and even misleading but out of the labyrinthian details which they yield it is not difficult to conclude that by bribing high officers at Murshidabad the English succeeded for the time being in keeping away from the Nawab the news of the disgrace of his envoy at Calcutta. So no step was taken by Siraj at once by way of punishing the English authorities for

disobeying his orders and sending away his envoy in disgrace. He rather proceeded towards Purnea to deal with the refractory Chief there. But at Rajmahal he was not only informed as to the disgrace of Naran Singh at Calcutta but also of the new fortifications which the English had undertaken there. This threw the Nawab into a paroxysm of rage. He broke up his camp at Rajmahal and proceeded at the head of his army towards Calcutta.

We are not concerned here with the results of this expedition. But it should be mentioned that it was possibly at Rajmahal that Rajballabh, who had been left in the lurch by his mistress Ghasiti Begam, submitted to the Nawab and succeeded in appeasing his wrath and in coming to some accommodation with him. Such accommodation was not certainly unnatural on either side. The Nawab's rival and enemy was not Rajballabh but Ghasiti Begam. Now that the latter was under control, there was no reason why he would continue his animosity against Rajballabh, who was so willing to make his submission. On the side of Rajballabh also there was no reason why he should cling to a cause which had been lost because of other people's treachery and supineness. Besides, his mistress had left him to his fate and herself made submission to the Nawab. In any event Rajballabh was no longer *persona non grata* with the Nawab and when Calcutta was conquered, Krishnadas, his son, was not only not punished but was publicly honoured by him.

This conciliatory and forgiving attitude which the Nawab took up towards Rajballabh and his family had its reward at the time of the crisis which was drawing near. Contemporary records give us a comprehensive account of the conspiracy as it developed day by day and ultimately involved Siraj in ruin. These records refer to Omichand, Jagat Seth, Yar Latif, Mir Jafar and Rai Durlabh as the chief instigators of this conspiracy against Siraj. They also tell us that Ghasiti Begam "leagues herself secretly with Mir Jafar" and helped him with her money and personal influence. But none of them refer to Rajballabh as being a party to this conspiracy. It is, of course, true that some of these documents refer to "other persons" as being implicated in it. But certainly Rajballabh who had played so far a very prominent part in the politics of Murshidabad would not have been dismissed as one of these "other persons," if he was actually in the conspiracy. It may in fact be said with certainty that he had nothing to do with the conspiracy which led to the defeat of Siraj at Plassey and to his violent death later.

After Plassey, Rajballabh was taken into the service of Miran, the eldest son of Mir Jafar, the new Nawab of Bengal. Miran had acquired the title of Shamat Jang and become a most important political figure

in the state. Rajballbh not only became his Dewan but soon acquired a great ascendancy over him and through his good offices also became the Deputy Governor of Dacca. That his influence in public affairs was at this time considerable is indirectly testified to by the rancorous attacks which were made upon him by some contemporary Englishmen in their correspondence. If his authority was not high and his powers great, he would not have aroused so much wrath and incurred so much hatred in this circle. It should also be emphasised here that in judging the position and measuring the stature of Rajballabh, we should not regard him only as a politician and a civil administrator. His military capacity was also immense and his prestige with the army was high. This is testified to by the part he played in the battle which was fought in Behar between the troops of the Shahzada and those of Miran in 1760 and in which the former was defeated. In subsequent events also he gave repeated proofs of his military capacity and his ascendancy over the troops. Miran after defeating the Shahzada had to proceed against the Nawab of Purnea. The latter, already discomfited, was flying towards Betiah and it was in course of the pursuit against him that Miran was killed in his camp by lightning. This death of Miran was pregnant with important consequences so far as Rajballabh's career was concerned. The troops were not at this time regularly paid and they were kept together only by the promises of Miran. But now that he was no more, there was the danger that they would break out into mutiny. This catastrophe which appeared so impending unnerved most of the associates of the late Shahamat Jang. It was only Rajballabh who kept his head, and elicited thereby the admiration of Colonel Caillaud, the commander of the British troops helping Miran. The way he acquitted himself from day to day in the midst of the threatening soldiery whose pay was in arrears marked him out as a man of great tact, of excellent nerves and of steady judgment.

It is no wonder, therefore, that Colonel Caillaud recommended to the Nawab after the death of Miran that his son should be given the title of the deceased and that Rajballabh should continue to be the Dewan of the new Shahamat Jang as he had been to Miran. In view of the fact that Miran's son was a minor, this appointment would have made Rajballabh only less powerful and influential than the Nawab himself. The other contestant for the office was Mir Kasim. The Nawab vacillated for long between the two candidates and ultimately appointed Mir Kasim. This choice was due mainly to the fact that Mir Kasim had gratified his friends at Calcutta by spending twenty lakhs of rupees. In any event the very fact that Rajballabh's name was for some time bracketed with that of Mir Kasim in candidature for all but the highest office in the

Suba brings out into clear relief the high position he held in public life and the great confidence he inspired in important circles.

In 1760 Mir Jafar was removed from the *masnad* of Murshidabad and Mir Kasim was placed upon it. This certainly made the position of Rajballabh far from enviable. He had contested with him for the post of the Dewan and this memory could not have been pleasing at all to the new Nawab. In fact the accession of Mir Kasim to the throne of Murshidabad would have automatically cut short the public career of Rajballabh. That it was not so done at once was due to certain circumstances and incidents which could not have been clearly foreseen before. The fight with the Emperor Shah Alam was at this time resumed and the exploits of Rajballabh in this fight enabled him to renew his old prestige with the English. The result was that he could now depend, to some extent at least, upon the good offices of the English at Calcutta. In fact they wrote to the Nawab commending Rajballabh to him. Secondly, Raja Ramnarain, the Governor of Patna, took up at this time an attitude towards Mir Kasim which alienated him completely from the latter. Ramnarain refused to have his papers examined by the agents of the Nawab and something like a feud actually ensued between the two. This was an opportunity which was utilised by Rajballabh in winning the favour of the Nawab. Ramnarain was in fact dismissed from his post and Rajballabh was appointed the Deputy-Governor of Patna.

This appointment which appeared so agreeable at first did not however, prove to be a bed of roses. It really involved Rajballabh in ruin. He acted only for eleven months as the Naib of Behar and during this period the authority of the Nawab was flagrantly violated by the two British officers Colonel Coote and Major Carnac, both of whom were his bitterest enemies. The arrival of Mr. Ellis as the Chief of Patna in November, 1761, far from improving the relations between the Nawab and the English, aggravated the bitterness all the more. No opportunity was missed by Mr. Ellis in insulting the Nawab and defying his authority. In view of this absurd relation between Mir Kasim, the lawful head of the province, and the English, its *de facto* masters, the position of Rajballabh, the Deputy-Governor, became intensely difficult, if not impossible. It is not necessary to enter into details of the different unfortunate clashes which occurred during this period between the agents of the Nawab and the English. It is only enough to point out that placed between the upper millstone of Mir Kasim and the lower millstone of Ellis, Rajballabh could not always decide as to how best he could maintain his balance. He no doubt did his level best to subserve the interests of his master as loyally and as efficiently as it was possible in the

circumstances. But Mir Kasim, whose mind has been embittered by the insults which had been heaped upon him by the English at Patna and whose temper had been soured by ther utter helplessness of his position, became suspicious in his attitude towards his Deputy. He suspected that the latter was in conspiracy with Mr. Ellis and his men and was betraying his interests. We have searched in vain for any definite proof as to this charge against the conduct of Rajballabh. But suspicion born of bitterness does not require any proof to justify itself.

Mir Kasim became suspicious as he became helpless and he became angry as he became suspicious. His wrath at last took the shape of an order for the dismissal of Rajballabh on the familiar charge of embezzlement. He and his son, Krishnadas, were arrested and imprisoned in the fort of Monghyr and possibly they were subjected to cruel tortures as well, in order that they might disclose their wealth. Mir Kasim did not stop with this imprisonment of the father and the son and the tortures inflicted upon them. He also sent his emissaries to Rajnagar, the native village of Rajballabh, and there his family treasures were seized and his house and property were confiscated. At last the climax was reached when Mir Kasim, already engaged in a fight with the English and defeated by them on two occasions, set out in July, 1763 to fight the last fight with them. His disposition was now absolutely sanguinary and on the eve of his departure he issued the order for putting all his prisoners to death. Possibly Rajballabh and his son were done to death in the same fashion as Ramnarain who, we are told by Seir Mutaqherin, was drowned "in the Ganga with a bag of sand fastened to his neck."

Thus ended the life of a man who rose from the humble post of an office-clerk to a position next in importance to that of the Nawab Nazim of Bengal. We need not repeat the astuteness he acquired as a politician and the high capacity he showed as a civil and military administrator. But before we conclude, it is necessary to refer to certain details of his private life. He amassed an immense fortune and a vast estate. He built fine houses and temples, excavated big tanks and established *tols* at Rajnagar which was converted from an insignificant village into one of the most beautiful towns of East Bengal. He also built temples and excavated tanks in other places, *e.g.*, at Burdwan, Srikhanda, Murshidabad and Benares. He took a good deal of interest in improving and reforming the Hindu society. We, for instance, find it on record that he did his best, though unsuccessfully, for the introduction of widow-marriage. Lastly, it should be emphasised that in that age of dissoluteness he remained singularly free from the vices in which other people of his station in life indulged without much social obloquy.

EZRA POUND AND THE CANTOS

SIB NARAYAN RAY, M.A.

1

THE failure of Imagism was a pointer. It was not a bone to be picked between Pound and the outraged woman who edited three anthologies to outscore Des Imagistes.[1] Pound found fault with the stasis in early imagist phänopoeia.[2] And with Wyndham Lewis, he became a vorticist. But the dynamic 'intellectuo-emotional complex' was no better peg. The pact with Walt Whitman in the Lustra days continued to challenge the Aesthetics of Edgar Allan Poe. And while he was paying his Homage to Proportius, recognition of the futility of the Alexandrian position was dawning upon him. Against the moral seriousness of the Atticists, Proportius, coming between Tibullus and Ovid, sings the song of debonair love.[3] The main theme of Pound's Homage, besides that of the conflict between love and death, is an apology for slight, slender, polished elegiac verse as against epic or heroic verse forms. Proportius' justification of his own choice in matters both of technique and content is simply this that his own poetic imagination is suited that way. As Phoebus warned him, "soft-fields must be worn by small wheels." (And is not this exactly what Hulme, the theoretician of Imagism, meant by classicism in his Speculations?) We hear behind the mask Pound's self-justification for his failure to deal with the larger and deeper issues of reality. But then,

> My genius is no more than a girl,
> If she with ivory fingers drive a tune through the lyre
> We look at the process.

Still Proportius has some uneasiness (the uneasiness that drove Virgil from the Hellenistic 'garden school' to write an epic on Aeneas) and Pound still more:

> I should remember Caesar's affairs . . . for a background.

And again:

> And I also will sing war when this matter of a girl is exhausted.

[1] For an account of the quarrel, see S. F. Damon, Amy Powell. Mr. Damon, of course, supports the object of his study.

[2] Ezra Pound, A B C of Reading (1934), p. 38. For vorticism, see E. Pound, "Vorticism," *Fortnightly Review*, 1914, p. 462 sq. For Pound's statement about imagism, see E. Pound, *Make It New*; "A Stray Document," Yale University, 1935.

[3] For Hellenic-Hellenistic controversy in Roman aesthetics, see J. F. D'Alton, Roman Literary Theory and Criticism, Longmans Green, 1934, esp. Chs. 5 and 6.

Well, Propertius never did. But in Hugh Selwyn Mauberley, Pound made a statement and a confession. The statement is about the problem of the aesthete in post-War capitalist society:

> We see *to kalon*
> Decreed in the market place.

It is the document of the sensibilities of a poet who is not only baffled by the movements of social reality, but who is also aware of the futility of retiring to a dream world. It is thus a confession too. For Pound not merely states the case of Mauberley, but he identifies himself with that gentleman. In true art, the artist does not move in the fixed and vicious circle of experience and expression; he reorganises himself by correlating his experience to the ever-growing social reality. He impresses himself on social formulations and in the process becomes conscious of the complexes working in him and thus liberates his imagination from the rigorous fetters of the unconscious. In formulating his experience the artist goes beyond it: he sees it with a richer consciousness with an understanding greatly reorganised since and through that actual act of experience. An artist whose formulation of an experience is not based on a sense of liberation from the complexes which underlie such experience cannot have that note of spontaneity, life and power which are the criteria of true art. In holding that Pound's Mauberley is a confession, what we mean is that the formulation of the issue is not derived from a conscious liberation from the complexes which raise that issue. Pound does not advance beyond the limited vision of Mauberley and remains identified with the cast-off personae.

Mauberley is a confession of Pound's inability to solve the problem he has posed in that book: the position derives from an illusion of self-disillusionment. Pound's self-underlined oscillation between aesthetic retirement and sceptic reasonableness is in the last analysis a mere make-belief. A disillusionment which is passive and a conception of imaginative freedom which is tantamount to an anarchic ignorance of social relations are both at base decadent evasions of a painful sense of reality. He admits that imagist "firmness" does not save Pisanello from "lacking the skill To forge Achaia"; he sees how the nightly glories (*nuktis agalma*) of the "phantasmagoria" of his imagination come to an end; how the cult of the orchid ("aerial flowers") drifts the poet to the "final estrangement." And in what bewilderment he finds his "sieve" of aestheticism ("to sift *to agathon* from the chaff.") changing into his "seismograph"! And for him remain as epilogues "mouths biting empty air, The still stone

dogs" of Ovid. Yet with all this knowledge, he, whose 'true Penelope is Flaubert,' remains

Unfit
As the red-beaked steeds of
The Cytheraean for a chain-bit.

2

But if phantasies fizzle, imagination needs must be based on an honest recognition of reality. Hence, after studious experiments in the technique of self-expression, Pound finally hazards in the Cantos (the appellation "poem of some length" is highly significant) to reconstruct in imagination an idea of reality in structure and movement. Though the attempt has failed, the Cantos are the most important indication in recent times how a revitalisation of poetic imagination is possible only by sending deeper and deeper roots into reality.

In *A Packet for Ezra Pound*, W. B. Yeats has described the intended scheme of the Cantos as he gathered it from the author himself.[1] The important information to be got from here is that in the Cantos Pound has attempted to cut reality vertically, horizontally as well as in a cyclical manner. The vertical section gives us the two themes of Ulysses' descent to hell and the Ovidian metamorphosis of Dionysius. The cross section silhouettes contemporary events and personages on the background of what Yeats calls the archetypal events. The cyclical structure is composed of those events which shape themselves round past anecdotes from literature, mythology and history. All the sections are so superimposed that the structure, instead of appearing skeletonal or epidermal, gives the illusion of multiple dimensions and movement.

Leaving apart the incidental difficulties in the way of an ordinary reader's appreciation of the Cantos—excess of classical allusions, aberrant use of words or phrases from original Greek, Provençal or Chinese, purposive deflection of originals, for example, giving Japanese spelling for Chinese names, and others—the real difficulty about the Cantos is that they lack in some perspective to connect the parts into a moving organic whole.[2] The Cantos lack in organic unity not because of the spatio-temporal stretches, nor because of sudden transitions, but because there is no positive Welt-anschaung like Dante's to reorganise a plurality of experiences into a poem of some length.

[1] For details see W. B. Yeats, Vision, "A Packet for Ezra Pound."

[2] Mr. Zukofsky in the *Criterion*, April, 1931, has tried to find a musical pattern for the Cantos in the arrangement of words, lines, symbols and the Cantos themselves. The attempt, however, seems more to be a *tour de force* than throwing much light on the basic scheme.

Pound himself has pointed out (in his essay on Dolmetsch) that art lies in a balance between chaos and strict order. He, however, does not realise that the balance is achieved not through technical astuteness, but by the organisation of experience into a flexible attitude towards reality. Inspite of great effort and tantalising prospects in the Cantos, the scheme as a whole fails. The poet looks at life *de haut en bas* (which is an inverted expression of his aesthetic impotence in face of reality) and instead of reorganising experience gives us disconnected views of reality.

Eliot has pointed out that Pound's hell is for the poet other people's hell and so does not trouble us.[1] The point that is made is that Pound never goes deep down into his hell, which is after all the present civilization of ours and hence his conceptions are crude and superficial. Pound's contact with contemporary society, his hell, is never deep enough to urge to formulate values whereby he may liberate (not escape) himself from its tentacles. The basic experience being epidermal, tension rarely reaches a moving point. Imaginative integration is at a low potential and the long poem remains 'epeisodic.'

But the descent to hell is the central theme of the poem and the amplitude of attention given to describe it and its inhabitants shows that Pound's case is not one of simple nostalgia. His moving passion for beauty makes him impatient and often leads him to disconnected flights into his old world of Hellenic Greece, or the sunny land of the troubadours, or the mellow tranquillity of mediaeval China. But behind the flights, he is fumbling in his futile way without any scheme of values to give him direction—labouring hard but without success to metamorphose this self-divided existence of ours into the sunny happy world of his early imagination.

3

A Draft of thirty Cantos opens with a free translation in English of part of the Latin version of the Odessey by Andreas Divus Justinopolitanus. This gives the key to the whole situation; like Ulysses, Pound too has travelled many lands and descended into the hell of modern life. Directed by Circe, "the trim-coifed goddess," Ulysses has come to hell to meet Tiresias. On meeting Ulysses, Tiresias asks:

> A second time? man of ill star
> Facing the sunless dead and the joyless region ?

[1] T. S. Eliot, After Strange Gods, a primer of modern heresy, p. 43. Eliot, of course, finds the reason in Pound's scepticism.

And he foresoothes :

Odysseus
Shall return through spiteful Neptune, over dark seas,
Lose all companions.

This gives the key to the transition to the next Canto and this movement on dark seas becomes a major and recurrent symbol in the whole scheme, communicating Pound's own isolation and journey through contemporary life.

The descent in Hades, however, is checked by the other (and for Pound, the more moving) theme of metamorphosis and the sea suggests the association. The sea is the key to the whole movement.

And poor old Homer blind, blind as a bat
Ear, ear for sea-surge, murmur of old men's voices.

Odysseus' wanderings on the seas bring to memory the story of Helen and a most wonderful description of Tyro follows :

And by the beach run Tyro,
... ...
Glare azure of water, cold-welter, close cover
Quite sun-tawny sandstretch
The gulls broad out their wings,
Nipping between the splay feathers.

The ship reaches Scios and then the theme of metamorphosis is introduced. The sea and the ship and everything are changed into a vine forest and we once again have a catch of imagist magic :

Lifeless air becomes sinewed,
feline leisure of panthers
Leopards sniffing the grape shoots by scupperhole,
Crouched panthers by forenotch
And the sea deep-blue about us
green-ruddy in shadows.

Unless the significance of this metamorphosis punctuating the movements in hell is understood, the whole structure of the Cantos, I believe, will remain inexplicable. Pound, the slender aesthete, in his struggle to come at grips with life (remember the Blast days) often gets tired and then his escapist phantasies bob up like balloons. His passion for beauty is too real not to make these phantasies living, but they cannot be traced to the world of things with which he is trying to come to grip. In Pound's scheme, long, hard, bitter and lonely wanderings

on the dark seas of bourgeois civilisation are punctuated by sudden flights into a make-belief world of beauty and vivaciousness. But as his world is only a world of desire and dream, it cannot be maintained for long except at the risk of losing contact with reality. And Pound, as we know, has learnt his lesson. So once again the voyage is continued and the phantasies burst like pricked bubbles—a hard bitter note of desparate struggle hushes the sunny laughter of momentary forgetfulness.

In the earlier Cantos, the sudden flights come quite often. The third Canto is an attempt to recapture the note of adventure and romance of the mediaeval troubadours—it is a literal translation of the Poema de-Myo Cid. In the fourth Canto, however, we have Troy in ruins:

> The silver mirrors catch the bright stones and flare,
> Dawn to our waking, drifts in the green cold light.

Then the pathetic tale of Ityn (identified in Pound's cyclical section with the medieval romance of Cabastan) deepens the note of wistfulness and pathos: the description, as the swallows cry, "it is Cabastan's heart in the dish," is a superb achievement. The height of the movement towards beauty is reached in the passage describing the waters below the valley:

> Beneath it, beneath it
> Not a ray, not a silver, not a spare disk of sun-light
> Bathing the body of nymphs, of nymphs and Diana.
> ... ...
> Ivory dipping in silver, shadow'd, o'er-shadow'd,
> Ivory dipping in silver,
> Not a lost slot, not a lost shatter of sun-light.

The central theme that there is no sun-light on the waters is significant. The movement traces backward, slowly the spell begins to break. Consciousness of reality returns, hell-life clutches at the roots:

> And we sit here . . .
> there is the arena . . .

The dichotomy is accentuated by the bracketed insertion, "clocktick pierces the vision," in the fifth Canto. The world of myths and desires relinquishes its claim to the world of history and reality, of course, on the agreement that it may bob up betimes. The cycle of Ovid and Provençal is replaced in Canto eight by the theme of capitalist exploitation and aggrandisement. The passage from Ityn-Guillaume to the banking organisation of Kahns is made through the dual association of Kubla Kahn, one emotional and the other verbal. Cantos fourteen and

fifteen deal more directly with contemporary figures and expose their hypocrisy and spiritual bankruptcy. In Canto seventeen, however, we have again another splendid flight: Ulysses entering the cave of Nerea. But this time, we have, instead of living vine forest, " the forest of marble, the stone trees, out of water—the arbours of stone," and the final reference to later Italian history shows the swing in motion.

Pound's imaginative flights do not fuse with the stretches of social awareness: hence there is an unresolved dichotomy in the structure. The appearance of movement is false: the structure is broken into interspersed fragments, to constitute some sort of an irregular chess-board with two irreconcilably opposed groups of experience. The scenario is static and the adjacency not organic but spacio-temporal.

Pound's concern to find some way out of the hell, however, may be seen in Canto fifteen where vague suggestions are made that the escape may become possible with the guidance of Plotinus. The idea, however, is not entertained and in the later Cantos, aimless voyage is continued inexorably through the squalor of history and contemporary life. Now and then sudden inaginative flights oxygenate the poisonous air: but no means are suggested as to how the air can be cleared of all poisonous gases altogether. The superbly sustained description of ' the lotos-phogoi of the suave nails ' in Canto twenty becomes nervous and edged towards the end and the illusion slowly touches hell reality with the juxtaposition of the silk skirts of Kalüpso with poison and ear-wax.

In the Fifth Decad of the Cantos, Pound states some of his preferences which may help to subordinate the forces of hell. He suggests a fusion of the under-consumptionist fallacies of major Douglas with the terrorist ideology of fascism.[1] He suggests liquidation of usury but cannot see that only in a society based on communal appropriation of goods can profiteering come to an end. In his preposterous essay, Jefferson and/or Mussolini, he contends for " the direction of the will." As in his own case, organisation was something extraneous and imposed, so in his ideal state the will of the people is to be shaped by the so-called leaders (who are, in fact, the lackeys of finance capitalists). In Cantos forty-two and forty-three he relates in detail the story of the formation of a Monte or Bank in 1642 at Sienna, translating long documents from Italian archives. In Canto forty-five he relates how Pietro Leopoldo, Ferdinando and Napoleon tried to get rid of the system of usury but their reforms did not last. The system of usury, *contra*

[1] See Pound's singularly naïve tractate, A B C of Economics. For moving indictment of usury, see Canto 44. For criticism of Douglas, see John Strachey, The Nature of Capitalist Crisis.

natura, was maintained by the bourgeoisie. In Canto forty-six he raises his protest against capitalist bankruptcy:

> Five million youths without jobs
> Four million adult illiterates
> 15 million vocational misfit, that is with small chance for jobs,
> And so on.

But with all his protests, Pound does not believe that the exploited can effect any real change in the situation. Thus frustrated, Pound's social sympathies do not fuse with his aesthetic sense: his reaction to contemporary contradictions accentuates his nostalgia.[1] His rich aesthetic sensuousness remains to the last in contradiction to his painful awareness of social reality. (And I remember the escape from Lustra to Cathay.)[2] The narration of the reforms of Leopoldo or Ferdinando falls flat, but the description of the lights that fall from long boats on the sea is unforgettable. After the confusing anecdotes of one Mr. Kolschetzky and "Garry-Yeo" in Canto forty-eight (O, how barren!), the swift unprepared passage to the Chinese scene is a wonder. But the levels are stratified, the one deadens into fossil, the other evaporates. There is no system of values to synthesise them into the epic record of an age in movement.[3]

Thus Ezra Pound, *il miglior fabbro*, "probably the most important poet of the present generation,"[4] is moved, by his very fidelity to poetic imagination, away from the narrow limits of his early illusive world to the grim repulsive hell of the Cantos—moving through that chaos without any dynamic beliefs, at times helplessly throwing out his hands for the lost skies of beauty and wonder, like a hurt bird, waylaid into a grey desert. He has been honest to his experience: hence the wondrous power and vitality of his imagination. He has no moving values and beliefs (in Jefferson and/or Mussolini he virtually confesses towards the end his doubts about fascism) to organise his experience: hence the futility, incoherence and wastage of the Cantos. And the supreme irony is that the poet who raised such indignant voice of protest against usury and exploitation, who refused to find an easy escape from his hell (the waste land), like Eliot, has, alas, come down at last to live in the Rapallo to spin out his Cantos on the dirty crumbs of Marinettis and Mussolinis.

[1] For a good treatment of Nostalgia, see D. W. Harding, "A Note on Nostalgia," in Determinations, Ed. by F. R. Leavis.

[2] For an approach to these Volumes, see the present writer's essay on the Early Poetry of Pound in *New Writing*, Autumn, 1942.

[3] It is interesting to note that while Eliot is deeply influenced by Dante (a devoted follower of St. Thomas Aquinas), Pound finds more interest in the technical grit of Guido Cavalcenti (who is a sceptic). Also note Pound's aversion for Milton. See Ezra Pound, *Make It New*.

[4] See T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, His Metric.

THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN BENGAL IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY *

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ADAM came to Bengal as a Baptist Missionary in 1818. After some years' residence in Bengal he withdrew from the missionary society. He sympathetically studied our language, our manners, customs and traditions. He became a journalist and was the editor first of the *Bengal Chronicle*, then of the *Calcutta Chronicle* and finally of the *India Gazette*. He was a friend of Rammohan Roy and David Hare.

British administrators in India were, in those days, devoting some attention to the problems of extension and improvement of education. As a journalist and as a friend of the Indian people, he was naturally very much interested in these talks about British Indian educational policy. He suggested to Lord William Bentinck an educational survey preparatory to any radical educational reform. He was appointed in January, 1835, to survey the state of education in Bengal. Adam had hardly begun when Macaulay's minute was placed before the Governor-General and his Council and on the 7th March, 1835, it was decided that government funds appropriated to education should be spent on English education alone.

It was unfortunate for Bengal that two major decisions that affected her economic and social life were made in such inordinate haste. If Cornwallis had waited only for a few years, as he was advised by Sir John Shore, useful data could have been collected and the mistake of Permanent Settlement might not have been made. If Bentinck had waited for some time instead of being carrried off his feet by the rhetoric of Macaulay, a different educational policy might have been pursued. Adam's first report is dated 1st July, 1835, the second is dated 23rd December, 1835 and the third 28th April, 1838. But Bengal's educational future was not to be shaped by sober and honest Adam, who travelled through hamlets and villages for three years to collect his data and to pen "one of the ablest reports ever written in India." It was to be

* Adam's Reports on the State of Education in Bengal, 1835-38. Edited by Anathnath Basu. Published by the University of Calcutta.

determined by a brilliant Whig politician who did not understand Indian mind, who knew nothing of Indian thought but who knew very well how to pour scorn on Oriental literature, of which he knew nothing. As we read the history of these years dominated by the personality of Macaulay, we are reminded of a statement attributed to Stanley Baldwin by Wickham Steed, "I thought we should have taken another line; but then Winston came along with his hundred-horse-power brain, and what was I to do."

Adam's work is a classic. He collected his data with a degree of minuteness which may fatigue the impatient, which may appear complicated to the slipshod, which may be disregarded by the doctrinaire but which must appear to the serious student as the nearest approach possible to accuracy. His conclusions, to his lasting credit, are of perennial interest and educationists now-a-days will do well to read his reports and find how refreshing are his arguments, how irresistible are his conclusions in the light of later developments. As we read these reports as also the celebrated Fifth Report of 1812 on the Company's administration, with which alone it deserves to be classed, we become painfully aware how low things have fallen since they were penned. Compared with the Fifth Report, which is even now a classic, the Floud Commission Report is ephemeral literature. Compared with the reports of Adam, much that has been written on education in recent times may be described either as partisan compilations or mere chatter.

Adam was neither an Orientalist nor an Anglicist. He clearly stated that the English language could not be the universal instrument but he was conscious that European knowledge must be the chief matter of instruction. He felt that the people needed mental quickening, custom was their strongest bond and the state of things must become different. He demolished the celebrated filtration theory of the Orientalists and Anglicists, who sought to confine governmental encouragement to upper and middle classes and hoped that education would percolate down to the masses. But Adam argued in vain for a system of national instruction that would be the commencement of a new era. His recommendations were disregarded. His case against English as medium of conveying knowledge is best put in his own words, "Let any one conceiving the desirableness of such a plan abandon in imagination at least the metropolis of the province or the chief town of the district in which he may happen to be living and with English Society let him abandon for a while his English predilections and open his mind to the impressions which fact and observation may produce. Let him traverse a pargana, a thana, a district from north to south, from east to west in

all directions. Let him note how village appears after village, before and behind, to the right hand and to the left, in endless succession. . . . It is difficult to believe that it should have been proposed to communicate to this mass of human beings through the medium of a foreign tongue all the knowledge that is necessary for their higher civilization, their intellectual improvement, their moral guidance and their physical comfort."

The educationist will find in the reports of Adam a very detailed survey of the state of education in the thirties of the nineteenth century. By means of a census of population the amount of domestic and adult instruction was ascertained in certain select areas and by means of an educational survey in certain areas the state of school instruction was also ascertained. Adam is very scientific in his approach. He states in his first report that the number of elementary schools in Bengal and Behar was about a lakh. There are many who think that this is an exaggerated estimate. Sir Thomas Munro, one of the ablest of British Indian administrators refers also to the great number of elementary schools in Madras in the twenties of the nineteenth century and adds that "the great number of schools has been supposed to contribute to the keeping of education in a low state because it does not secure the services of a sufficient number of scholars to secure the services of able teachers." Adam did not think very highly of the curriculum of these Bengali elementary schools and he had a very poor opinion of the capacity of the teachers. He says, "the teacher for the sake of pay performs a menial service in the spirit of a menial. Education being limited beyond reading and writing to accounts tends rather to narrow the mind . . . than improve the heart or enlarge the understanding." But in Adam's reports we find that Bengali language was the medium of instruction and Muhammadan as well as Hindu children of various castes received this without distinction. There was a considerable number of paid elementary school teachers who taught some scholars gratuitously. Adam gives us a very realistic picture of these elementary Bengali schools that were numerous, non-communal, non-sectarian, that did not teach much but in which some at least of the underpaid teachers were actuated by a genuine spirit of service.

It has been said about Macaulay that his imagniary world was made very fast and at a very high temperature of conviction. His ardour made it very difficult for him to reshape his first impressions. He naturally pooh-poohed everything Indian. Adam, patient and penetrating had, on the other hand, the virtues of an academic mind without its defects. He had also a profound practical intelligence which must be regarded as higher than mere idealism. In his report he does not minimise the

importance of Sanskritic and Islamic studies. The Orientalists with the experts' zeal found in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic seminaries real centres of education. Adam was, however, conscious of the fact that in most of these Sanskrit institutions people devoted too much time and attention to "vain and empty subtleties" resembling the system of schoolmen but at the same time he felt that institutions of this type could be used in raising and improving the character of the people. His report gives us an excellent idea of the state of Sanskrit learning in the indigenous schools of learning at different places in Bengal particularly at Nadia. While emphasising the importance of elementary Bengali schools, Adam could not disregard altogether the part that Sanskrit schools should play. He notes in one place, "the comparatively refined tone of feeling and character which the cultivation of Hindu learning appears to give to its possessors and the effect in some measure extends to their families . . . the system of learned institutions has a principle of diffusiveness in the gratuitousness with which the instruction is bestowed." He felt that Sanskrit studies should be revitalised as the great storehouse from which the dialects would obtain "increased power, copiousness, refinement and flexibility." He felt also that Sanskrit was responsible for the cultural unity of Hindu India. In the schools of learning at Nadia foreign students coming from the South, from Assam and Nepal numbered about 100 to 150 out of a total of 750.

Adam also reports on the state of Persian and Arabic studies. He ridicules teaching in the elementary Arabic schools "as consummate a burlesque upon mere forms of instruction separate from a rational meaning and purpose as can well be imagined." His figures are very revealing in one respect. He says that those who learnt Persian as the language of books of correspondence and accounts were in five districts in the proportion of 2,087 Hindus to 1,409 Muhammadans. This must have been due to the fact that the Persian language was for a long time in official use. But Adam is emphatic on the point that Persian could never be regarded in Bengal as a fit instrument for elementary school instruction even for the Muhammadans. Only a small proportion of them in large cities were interested in Arabic and Persian studies. The Muhammadan schools of learning were not therefore as numerous as those of the Hindus but they had more ample endowments. According to Adam these endowed Muhammadan schools of learning could also be utilised as a means for improving the state of instruction. He makes no mention of Urdu schools in Bengal.

A student of the social history of Bengal will find in the reports of Adam very valuable information about the position of those castes that

are dubbed "scheduled" under the new dispensation. In his lists of Hindu scholars receiving humble instruction in the elementary Bengali schools we find these castes well represented. Some individuals of these castes were also instructors. Adam makes the following observation—"the encroachments of these castes on the outskirts of learning is a spontaneous movement in native society, the effect of a strong foreign rule unshackled by native usage and prejudices and protecting all in the enjoyment of equal rights." But the caste system from the point of view of literacy was perhaps never rigid. Dr. Dineshchandra Sen has shown that Bhagyamanta Dhupi wrote his Harivansa in 1783 A.D. and that Madhusudan Napit, himself a writer, wrote in 1809 that his father and grandfather were also famous as writers. The caste system is generally described as a solid block which began to crumble only under Western influence. But the absence of many of its obnoxious features in the social life of Bengal is a historical fact which must not be overlooked and which it is perhaps a mistake to ascribe to Western influence. If narrow-minded people taking pride in their prejudice are to be regarded as our proper guides then we would not be wrong if we conclude that there were such depressed classes even in the Muhammadan community. The "Huzzoor Tehsil Peshkar" of Barielly reported to Mr. S. M. Boulderson, Collector of the District, the Qanungos signing the paper that "under the former governments none but *Ashraf, viz.*, Brahmans, Rajputs, Bukkals, Kaits, Khutrees among the Hindus and Sheikhs, Syeds, Moghuls and Pathans among the Muhammadans, were permitted to study the sciences and even to learn the Persian language but that now all sects are learning Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. They, therefore, suggest the abolition of some schools." Such feeling was neither strong nor universal in Bengal according to Adam.

Relations between the two major communities were very cordial in those days particularly in rural areas. Adam writes, "the mutual disposition of the Hindus and Mussalmans towards each other is not an unimportant element in the society in this country and it may be partly estimated by the state of vernacular instruction. . . . In the Beerbhoom and Burdwan districts there are 1,001 Mussalman scholars . . . the Hindu and Mussalman scholars and the different castes of the former assemble in the same school house, receive the same instruction from the same teacher and join in the same plays and pastimes." In the Persian schools in some areas the proportion of Hindu to Muhammadan scholars was 2 : 1. There was thus a genuine *camaraderie* between the students of the two communities. We should further add in this connection that in his third report Adam has given the proportion of Hindu and Muhammadan

population in certain areas. A comparison of the figures of the first Census Report with the figures of Adam may help us to ascertain the causes of subsequent variations in communal ratio.

A fresh edition of Adam's precious reports, long out of print, is very welcome to educationists and to historians. The spirit in which he performed his task, the zeal that actuated him, the industry with which he collected his data and his very scientific approach should guide us in our task of educational reform. The student of the social history of Bengal will also find in his reports sufficient materials for his enquiry in many and various directions. Let us hope that Adam's reports will instruct us, will stimulate us to efforts like his own.

CONVOCATION ADDRESS*

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MEMBERS OF THE GURUKULA VISWAVIDYALAYA, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am deeply grateful to you for the honour you have done me in asking me to address your Annual Convocation. This is my first visit to this great seat of learning which we feel proud to regard as a national asset. Let me pay my tribute of respect to the memory of your illustrious founder and his renowned successors, who had not only the courage and vision to propound new educational ideals but also the capacity and determination to translate them into practice by the establishment and development of institutions dedicated to the cause they held so dear and sacred. To-day we stand at the cross-roads of history. Our beloved motherland, rich with an ancient heritage, struggles for the attainment of that free status which is her birth-right. It is through education that the ultimate battle of Indian freedom will be won. The gigantic task of reconstruction, cultural, social, economic and political can be rendered possible through the co-ordinated efforts of bands of trained and disciplined Indians. Armed with the knowledge of India's past glory and greatness, her strength and weakness, it is they who can place before their country a programme of work, which while loyal to the fundamental traditions of Indian civilisation will be adapted to the changing conditions of the modern world.

If the history of education in British India is traced by an impartial historian, the record will be hardly creditable to our ruling class. We have suffered not for want of zeal and devotion for the cause of education on the part of the children of the soil, but on account of the colossal blunder made by our rulers while formulating their educational policy a little over a century ago. That policy, determined in the days of Bentinck and Macaulay, was influenced not by considerations of the welfare of the Indian people but of the advancement of the interests of the ruling class. In no country has education properly developed unless it has drawn its inspiration from the fountain of its own national life. Education with its roots cut off and superimposed by the edicts of an alien power is doomed to ultimate failure. Applied to a subject-race which has not entirely lost its intellectual curiosity and virility, such a system may for some generations foster

* Delivered at Gurukul Viswavidyalaya, Kangri, Hardwar, 1943.

an artificial growth ; it may even produce a race of able imitators but it can never inspire or elevate the people as a whole, far less advance their permanent welfare.

When Bentinck decided to concentrate State aid and support on European education alone, he started an era of cultural conquest of the Indian people. Afraid of the possible dangerous results of the spread of knowledge among the masses of the people, Macaulay and his co-workers chose to favour a select class of Indians and train them on Western ideas not with a view to help them develop into self-reliant and patriotic Indians, but as Macaulay himself said, to form a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. Contemporaneous records of those days disclose a lamentable lack of knowledge of our masters of the greatness of India's past civilisation. They indeed portray a remarkable over-emphasis on the so-called virtues of Western culture and an unconcealed contempt for everything Indian. What we deplore is not that the gate of Western knowledge was thrown open to Indians, but that such knowledge was imported to India at the sacrifice of our own cultural heritage. What was needed was a proper synthesis between the two systems and not neglect, far less destruction of the Indian base. India's chequered history amply demonstrates that during a period when many of the European countries remained steeped in ignorance and barbarity, our great seers, savants and sages, backed by royal support, had attained an intellectual eminence which might well be the envy of any highly civilised nation. In this country was developed a state of society which encouraged not merely scholastic learning, philosophy and religion, but also art, architecture, medicine, science, astronomy and engineering. Education must be nourished by ideas and thoughts consistent with the traditions of the country which it claims to serve. The sustaining force of Western education in India was chiefly the glamour of State service. Education was encouraged not for its own sake but for opening avenues of employment essential for the successful functioning of a bureaucratic machinery.

I have no desire to trace here the growth of the educational system in India in detail. Macaulay's prophecy was partially falsified by the results that followed its adoption. The national consciousness of educated Indians could not be suppressed and far from being blind supporters of an alien rule, they themselves became the torch-bearers of revolt. The education of the masses was neglected in a manner unprecedented in the history of any civilised administration. The educational system failed to serve the real needs of India and its defects were soon manifest to patriotic Indians. Attempts have no doubt been made from time to

time to introduce far-reaching changes into the educational system in accordance with the needs and aspirations of the people. In the field of higher teaching and research, in arts and science, it has been demonstrated that the power of original thinking of Indian scholars has not been extinguished and they are capable of holding their own against any foreigner. Partial success has been achieved in some spheres of thought and activity but a general dissatisfaction is evident suggesting a thorough overhauling of the entire system.

The problem of education can never be fully solved in a manner acceptable to self-respecting Indians until and unless it is left in the hands of a government representing the national will and freed from foreign domination. We move indeed in a vicious circle. Without education properly outlined and directed we cannot easily attain our freedom. Without freedom and full control over our own destinies, we cannot re-shape our educational policy entirely according to our will and requirements. So long as the present situation continues, however, it is obvious we have to make the best use of the existing machinery and by constant efforts and agitation secure changes and improvements which will bring us as near our goal as possible. Acceptance of our national languages as the media of instruction and examination up to the highest standard is a fundamental condition which has yet to be fulfilled. You have rightly adopted this course in developing your activities. Each province has its own major language and this should be accepted in its own educational sphere. If there is another language which has a substantial number of adherents, this may also receive recognition under suitable conditions, although the multiplicity of languages within the same provincial zone may lead to obvious complications. A bureau should be set up in each province under the supervision of well-trained scholars and working in close co-operation with Government and Universities, it should undertake the preparation of books in all subjects of study in the provincial language. A working knowledge of English at the post-elementary stage is sufficient for our ordinary purposes, except in the case of that limited number of scholars who may choose to study the English language and literature as part of their academic training. Similarly a working knowledge of Hindi is essential so that direct contact among peoples of different provinces may be maintained. The study of different subjects has to be re-organised in a manner suited to the conditions of our country. Subjects like History, Economics and Social Science have to be dealt with in relation to Indian environments. With regard to Science which knows no geographical boundaries, the nomenclature should not be divorced from

what is in use in other parts of the world, for only thus can we keep ourselves in touch with world-progress, and retain contact with co-workers outside our own sphere of activity.

While we cannot but emphasise the need for well-equipped libraries and laboratories, seminars and museums in any system of national education, we have to keep down unnecessary expenditure on buildings and hostels. In a poor country such as ours we should aim at minimising expenditure in every possible manner so that money thus released may be utilised for the progressive expansion of education. The conditions of living and training of our alumni should be such as to render it possible for them on the termination of their studies to identify themselves without any pang with the environments amidst which they had been previously accustomed to live. Nothing is more ruinous to the cause of our country's progress than to create a separate class of so-called educated Indians, entirely out of touch in outlook and mode of living with the vast millions of their less fortunate fellow-countrymen to whose service they must dedicate their lives.

Education can hardly be separated from the social and economic surroundings of the people. While those resposible for imparting education cannot guarantee employment to all students, the system should be so regulated that the training given is a help and not a hindrance to them in their struggle for existence. For this reason education must be many-sided and institutions of various types must grow up so as to train people in manifold directions suited to the economic and industrial progress of the country. It is in this sphere that a National Government will deem it a supreme duty to co-ordinate effectively the activities of academic institutions with trade, commerce, agriculture and industry. There can be no clash of interests among these agencies only if all strive to achieve one ultimate end—the service of the nation as a whole.

Relation between teacher and student must be such as between father and son. It is only by the fulfilment of this condition that a correct standard of education can be maintained and its objects properly fulfilled. Obedience that grows out of spontaneous loyalty and affection is permanent; enforced discipline born of the fear of rules or rods fails to mould the character of the students. Your basic concept of Gurukula—the home of the teacher—is a gift of the ancient Indian mind and has seldom penetrated into the artificial atmosphere of residential schools, copied from the Western pattern in many parts of India. An Indian Gurukula cannot separate education from the mainsprings of Indian *Dharma*, interpreted in its broadest sense. The heritage that belongs to an Indian

youth must be clearly and boldly held before his mind's eye. The eternal value of the teachings of the ancient seers must be explained to him—not for lowering his vision or choking his spirit of inquisitiveness, but for making him judge for himself their fundamental values. Civilisation in our society meant progressive socialisation of our lives by developing all the finer feelings which helped us to realise our own selves in others and others in our own selves. This is why our social life had been dominated more by moral consciousness rather than political. If to-day we suffer from divisions and disruptions, the fault lies with those interpreters who for historical reasons clung to forms and practices and narrowed the base of the original structure of our society striking at the root of service and equality, so manifest in the teachings of our ancient seers. Pride in one's national heritage such as ours which transcends all barriers of race and creed must be implanted in the heart of our youth, for by this alone will he shake off an inferiority complex and lack of self-confidence, fatal to the cause of our progress. We claim that instead of turning westwards we can rebuild our society fundamentally on our own model. In a country such as ours with people following different religions and faiths, we must so adjust our movements as to permit full scope for intellectual and cultural development to all essential units, each remaining loyal to its creed, helpful to and trustful of each other, and all owing allegiance to the imperishable spirit of Indian unity.

To-day the world is faced with a crisis unknown in the history of human civilisation. Western civilisation has failed to give the world peace and freedom. Inspite of material advancement and scientific and industrial progress, the ruling classes in Europe were dominated by the triple forces of power, prestige and possession. The future happiness of the world will depend on the outlook of the men who control the destinies of the stronger and more powerful nations. Whatever lip-sympathy they may pay to the doctrine of equality, democracy and freedom, if in their actions they allow themselves to be dominated by a policy of aggression and exploitation of weaker or less fortunate countries, they can never hope for the inauguration of a better world-order. The future of the world lies in a federation of free countries where each will have the scope of developing its national life in accordance with its best ideals and traditions. If this goal is acceptable to all, the educational system in all parts of the world must be so moulded as to encourage the growth of correct international behaviour and understanding. Among the fundamental moral qualities, man must have a deep concern for the good life of his fellows. Every person should be given a fair chance of growing

up sound in mind and body and making the best of his natural faculties. He must have a sense of social responsibility and the will to sink his personal interest and that of his class in the common good. He must be a man of independent judgment, respect the individualities of others and be tolerant to opinions in conflict with his own. He should realise that he has responsibility not only as a citizen of his own country but also as a citizen of the world, that there must be equal justice for all, that Government should be based on general good-will and support rather than on brute force.

One of the urgent problems confronting us is replanning of a system of national education suited to our needs and aspirations. We do not yet know when political conditions will permit us to give effect to such a reformed scheme. But this must form a major part of post-war reconstruction. We should lose no time in setting up a competent machinery, fully representative of all interests, which should explore the lines of our future educational programme. The matter will not be an easy one. Problems relating to languages, traditions, needs of different communities, and employment will require the closest examination. The aim of education has to be defined with clearness and precision. Briefly put, our object should be to develop every Indian child as completely as possible so that he may feel himself consciously at one with his community, share in its traditions of the past, its life and action in the present and its aspirations and responsibility for the future. A vast country like India will present problems peculiar to particular provinces. Our aim should be to inculcate in the mind of every child a passionate loyalty to the spirit of Indian unity and so to regulate his daily work that he may become aware that what he is doing is for the advancement of his nation and through his nation of humanity at large.

Your great institution will contribute in no small degree to the solution of the Indian educational problem. Regimentation of rules and adoption of a rigid pattern in the sphere of education virtually give it a death blow. They strike at the root of its life and lead to deadly stagnation. You have demonstrated that education in this country can be organised by a correct synthesis between the fundamental aspects of Indian civilisation and the true requirements of a scientific age. The influences for the good which alone can save human civilisation from the destrutive forces of an arrogant and selfish materialism have been steadily nurtured by you inspite of grave obstacles. In the task of reconstruction of Indian society you are bound to play a dominant part and your experiences will influence in no small measure the future course of

educational policy and administration in this country. India amidst all her diversities present a unity of thought and action which is indeed remarkable. Inspite of political bondage we have been able to keep our heads erect because of the inherent power of assimilation that the Indian mind has shown itself capable of. The aim of our culture has been the complete realisation of life. Nature, man and God make for life entire knowledge ; and service and love are the materials which go to the making of man complete. In the firm belief that the cause of Indian advancement is just and righteous, and standing at the foot of the Himalayas and near the Holy River that have from time immemorial witnessed the mighty career of Indian civilisation, which no alien Power can crush, let us draw inspiration from the Glorious Past, sustain fortitude and strength to face the trials and tribulations of the Present and fearlessly contribute our humble share in the re-building of a free and united India of the Future. Let us gather in our own the voices of India's oppressed millions and proclaim in the words of our beloved Poet our determination to march along the path of truth and justice and to consider no sacrifice, no preparation too great for the emancipation of our Motherland :

चित्त येथा भयशून्य, उच्च येथा शिर,
ज्ञान येथा मुक्त, येथा गृहेर प्राचीर
आपन प्राङ्गणतले दिवस शर्व्वरी
वसुधारे राखे नाइ खण्ड क्षुद्र करि',
येथा वाक्य हृदयेर उत्समुख ह'ते
उच्छसिया उठे, येथा निर्वारित स्रोते
देशे देशे दिशे दिशे कर्म्मधारा धाय
अजस्र सहस्रविध चरितार्थताय,
येथा तुच्छ आचारेर मरुवालुराशि
विचारेर स्रोतःपथ फेले नाइ ग्रासि'
पौरुषेरे करेनि शतधा, नित्य येथा
तुमि सर्व्व कर्म्म चिन्ता आनन्देर नेता,—
निज हस्ते निर्दय आघात करि' पितः
भारतेरे सेइ स्वर्गे कर जागरित ।

" Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high :
Where knowledge is free ;

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls:

Where words come out from the depth of truth:

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection:

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by Thee into everwidening thought and action—

Into that heaven of freedom, my father, let my country awake!"

Miscellany

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE SOCIAL RELATIONS OF SCIENCE

Since 1940 the Indian Science Congress has been interesting itself in the subject of the social relations and impacts of science. That year a sub-committee was appointed by the Congress with special reference to this topic. One of the problems to be attacked by this sub-committee is the fact of "lag in the application of scientific knowledge to the life of the people in India."

The subject of social lags is of world-wide importance in the science of comparative culture-history. But it is particularly urgent in India on account of our specially backward conditions. It is with a view to meeting the Indian problem in this regard that the following observations are being made:

1. The lag in the application of scientific knowledge to everyday life of the Indian people is to be envisaged as but an expression of the fundamental socio-cultural lag or distance of India from the go-ahead regions of the modern world.

2. India's chronological distance from these advanced regions is to be measured, generally speaking, by some three quarters of a century in the case of hyperdeveloped countries like England, Germany and the U. S. A. But in regard to the Balkanic and Slavic regions as well as some of the Latin American countries India's chronological distance is hardly palpable (*vide* Sarkar, "The Equations of World-Economy," in the *Calcutta Review* for June, 1941).

3. India's lag, distance or backwardness, such as it happens to be, cannot be overcome by educational or cultural agencies alone. Economico-technocratic developments and improvements in national finance are to be considered as some of the pre-conditions. No less value is to be attached to the effective elevation in the political status and ambitions of the people such as can render Indian creativities fruitful on a mentionable scale. The remaking of society cannot be consummated exclusively by schools and colleges.

4. In so far as educational or cultural agencies alone are to be taken into consideration, the problem consists, other circumstances remaining the same, in inoculating the I.A. and B.A. curriculum of the Indian Universities with doses of general training in the exact sciences and their practical applications.

5. A paper on general science will have to be made obligatory for every I.A. and every B.A. student without consideration as to the other compulsory or optional papers. It is to be an additional paper for all and sundry.

6. This compulsory science paper for all I.A. and B.A. candidates is to be a paper, generally speaking, on discoveries and inventions. The text-book recommended is to comprise lessons on the following topics: (*a*) mathematico-astronomical, (*b*) physico-chemical, (*c*) geographico-geological, (*d*) biologico-anthropological, (*e*) medico-sanitary, and last but not least, (*f*) machineries, tools and implements.

7. The treatment of these lessons is to be non-mathematical. The latest and most recent position in each science is to be indicated. But attention must be drawn to the historical evolution in each scientific doctrine and technological or engineering progress.

8. The text-book for B.A. is evidently to be somewhat more elaborate and comprehensive than that for I.A.

9. The suggestion may appear to be radical. And it may involve several years of patient publicity work on the part of the Indian Science Congress and of its Social Relations Sub-Committee in order that the serious attention of the Universities to the necessity and value of the measure advocated here may be adequately drawn.

10. The importance of the history of exact sciences as a compulsory subject of instruction for every M.A. and M.Sc. student has been discussed by me in the "Memorandum on Post-Graduate Studies," published in the *Calcutta Review* for August, 1926. It may be conveniently seen in my *Greetings to Young India*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1927).

A SPANISH INTERPRETATION OF THE NEW ORDER

Speaking at the formal opening of the new Spanish Cortes (March 17, 1943) General Franco said, "With our victory a new era arrived for Spain, and now after a long chain of toil and sacrifices a decisive stage in the new order is reached." He dealt with the role of the Cortes in Spain and observed, "With this Cortes collaboration of the people in the tasks of State is initiated."

General Franco added, "This means the introduction of popular conception in the administration. Popular interest is presented by *Procuradores* (members of the Cortes). On to better Fatherland, to one great Spain! Proclaiming my faith in Spain and her future I greet you, *Procuradores*, with the words, 'Spain, arise!' I hereby declare the Cortes constituted."

According to General Franco the war was destined to last a long time. The strength of both sides was "great and incalculable despite ups and downs of fighting."

He added, "Let no one dream of any easy war and then peace to last a hundred years. The existence in mid-Europe of Germany with a hundred million population, on the Mediterranean, of Italy with about half that figure, and in the north-west, of Britain with a smaller figure, constitutes an important national and demographic reality which cannot be ignored."

INFLATION IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

During the present war the note-circulation of India, England or the U. S. A. has not been proceeding on the lines of the inflation practised in Germany and Russia during 1920-22 after World-War I. The fiduciary cover in India as in England is substantial and adequate. The rates of exchange have been kept stable on account of the large stocks of gold in the Exchange Equalization Fund. But formally inflationist or not, the economic situation in India has already assumed a disastrous character (July, 1942, to March, 1943). The price-index is already above 250 whereas in England it is near about 170. In India men of fixed incomes have been virtually ruined and the teeming millions have reached the limits of patience. On the other hand, the war-communism of the Churchill-State in England and the Roosevelt-State in America has drastically controlled the price-structure in the most energetic manner. The Government of India will have to rise to the same height. Besides, the war profits will have to be taxed a hundred per cent. A considerable part of the war-salaries and war-wages paid to the armed forces and industrial workers will have to be withdrawn from circulation by compulsory savings schemes. Last but not least, agriculture and other civilian industries will have to be encouraged with large doses of state finance as in England and the U.'S. A. India cannot be normally coaxed into depending on windfalls and mercies of the seas in the shape of reports about occasional imports of maize from South Africa and wheat from Australia.

Round The World

Application of Section 93 in Bengal

On the 31st of March last His Excellency the Governor of Bengal issued a Proclamation under Section 93 (1) of the Government of India Act, 1935, and assumed to himself the powers of the legislature and the right to exercise in his discretion those other powers which he could exercise under the Act only in consultation with his Ministers. The Proclamation was the climax of a chain of events which happened in the last stages of the budget session of the Legislative Assembly in the present year. In fact it may be said that it was the culmination of a period of rather stormy relations between the Governor and his Council of Ministers, which began in December, 1941. The members of the European group who number twenty-five in a house of 250, depleted now to 229, took up an attitude of hostility towards the ministry of Mr. Fazlul Huq during the discussion and voting of the demands for grants. These twenty-five, it should be known, are but interlopers in our legislature if we judge their position by any accepted canon of political representation. It may be pointed out no doubt that they are in the Assembly by right conferred by the Act of 1935. But the framers of the Constitution Act did nothing but violence to all principles not only of political representation but of justice and fair play when they provided for twenty-five representatives of the Europeans in this province in their dual capacity as residents and traders. Placed by favour in the province's legislature whose threshold they had no right as such to cross, they have not taken any interest whatever in its affairs except in those cases in which either their own interests or the interests of the British Government have been involved. In the latter instances they have supported as a rule the *status quo* because by that they would safeguard their existing rights and privileges.

In the last budget session, however, they discovered that the policy of the outgoing ministry was not in every case to give ditto to things which were being done either in the districts or in the departments without its previous knowledge and approval. Mr. Fazlul Huq accepted the suggestion that the happenings in the Midnapur district required investigation. He also gave grounds to the house to surmise that appointments in the department of civil supplies were not made on the initiative of the Ministers. Nor were things being done in that department always with the approval of the Council of Ministers. This attitude of his proved to be a red rag to the European bull in the Assembly. The group became frantic, and one cut motion after another was taken advantage of by its members to express their disapproval of the ministry. An alliance was chalked out between them and the Moslem League members and between them they decided to record their votes against Mr. Fazlul Huq and his colleagues. But in none of the divisions which took place on these occasions the Opposition could secure a majority. Even on the last occasion the ministry had a majority of ten, inspite of absentees among its supporters.

But although the ministry had still a sufficient working majority in the house and although this majority was unshakable in its confidence in the leadership of Mr. Fazlul Huq, the Governor called him to his closet in the evening of March 28 and demanded his resignation as member of the Council of Ministers. The demand is reported to have been made in a manner absolutely peremptory. It would possibly have been wise on the part of Mr. Huq to refuse the demand and wait for dismissal. But he signed the letter of resignation in circumstances which made his resignation virtually a dismissal. In other words, for the cabinet crisis the responsibility attached more to the Governor than to the Chief Minister. The former knew

full well that the budget would have to be passed before the close of the financial year. Most of the demands had already been voted and on the morrow the remaining grants would possibly be made as well. In view of this if Mr. Fazlul Huq had resigned even of his own accord, the Governor would have still two alternativ s before him. He might have accepted the resignation, provided he could make at once an arrangement for another ministry, with or without the co-operation of Mr. Huq, which would take responsibility for the budget. If he did not see any possibility in this regard, he should have, in duty bound, refused to accept the resignation before the passing of the budget. Instead of following any such procedure, he not only accepted the resignation of Mr. Huq with undue haste but what is more he forced his resignation and thereby the resignation of his ministry.

In view of the facts narrated above the Proclamation issued by the Governor on the night of March 31 appears to us to be positively unconstitutional. Section 93 (1) under which it was issued lays down that "if at any time the Governor of a Province is satisfied that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the Province cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Act, he may by Proclamation . . . . ". But on the night of March 31 when the Governor found that the budget could not be passed and the Government could not be carried on under the provisions of the Act, none could deny that this situation was his own creation. Even after the resignation of Mr. Huq had been accepted, the Governor could have retraced the steps and retrieved the situation and thereby run the administration in the ordinary way. When he found that an immediate formation of an alternative Council of Ministers taking responsibility for the budget was not possible he could have asked Mr. Huq afresh to head a ministry and pilot the budget through the Assembly. In fact not only a blunder of the highest magnitude was made initially but there was persistence in it in the later stages. The result was that without the Proclamation under Section 93 the budget could not be passed and the Government could not be carried on in the Province.

The Governor in his *communiqué* issued by way of explaining the necessity of the Proclamation has pointed out that Mr. Huq resigned in order to enable the formation of an all-Parties ministry. But this explanation has explained nothing. Mr. Huq might have been in favour of such a comprehensive ministry. He might have formed it himself on his own initiative and under his own leadership. He might have again allowed its formation either by taking himself only a subordinate position or by going into retirement altogether. This was his business. But the business of the Governor was to see that in the face of a solid majority in the Assembly desirous of passing the budget and running the Government in a constitutional manner, no situation arose under which constitutional Government had to be suspended. But by allowing such a situation actually to arise, His Excellency has not only acted tactlessly but unconstitutionally.

Section 93 was not incorporated in the Government of India Act, 1935, to meet situations like the one which was created in the last three days of March last. Its utilisation in a case like this is a definite indication of the new mentality in high quarters in India. This mentality is not only opposed to the continuance of the convention which was arrived at in 1937 (at the time of the formation of the Congress Ministries) and under which the special responsibilities of the Governor would become the special responsibilities of the Council of Ministers. But what is more this mentality seems to be opposed also to the continuance of any ministry even with very limited powers under the Act unless that ministry satisfies the whims and appeals to the vanity of the head of a province. If Section 93 could be applied to the situation in Bengal as created by the forced resignation of Mr. Huq, it could be applied whenever the Governor of a Province happens to dislike a ministry even with a decided majority in the Assembly. He might dismiss it and as no alternative ministry is possible at once,

he might rule by Proclamation. We believe that His Excellency the Governor-General without whose concurrence Section 93 could not be invoked should have refused to share this responsibility. He might have told the Governor that as no alternative ministry could be formed immediately, Mr. Huq should be called back to office and take responsibility for the budget.

There is again a secondary, though not on that account a very unimportant, matter to be discussed in connection with the resignation of Mr. Huq. While his resignation was accepted with effect from the 29th March, the resignation of his colleagues was deliberately gazetted as taking effect from the 31st of March. The other members of the Council of Ministers definitely pointed out that the resignation of the Chief Minister meant their resignation as well, and that it should be taken as effective from the time that Mr. Huq ceased to hold office. But the Governor thought otherwise. What was his intention in this regard ? Does he want to show that he does not believe in the principle of joint responsibility of the Ministers? Does he want to advertise that in his opinion the Ministers hold office as individuals during the pleasure of the Governor and are not a collective body with the Chief Minister as its basic and indispensable element ? If he cherishes this view, he is certainly not conforming to the Instrument of Instructions.

We do not know if Sir Nazimuddin believes very fervently in constitutional government. If he does, he should have protested along with the other leaders in this province against the action of the Governor in the last three days of March last. It is true that by this action his accession to power may have been facilitated. But the action that was taken now may be taken at other times and on other occasions. It is not necessary to point out that in the future such a step on the part of the Governor may not be pleasing to him. In any event whatever militates against the evolution of constitutional government in this province should have been condemned as much by the leaders of the outgoing ministry as by the leaders of the Opposition. But possibly we are counting without the host. Sir Nazimuddin may not be a votary of constitutionalism.

Lord Bennet and India

Recently Viscount Bennett had an occasion to rebuke Mr. Willkie for the latter's advocacy of Indian freedom and his condemnation of the present British Policy of doing nothing in this regard. Lord Bennett had been for years the leader of the Conservative Party in Canada and was also the Prime Minister of the Dominion. In 1938 he left Canada and settled in the United Kingdom. This step he took on grounds of health. The rigorous climate of the Dominion was telling upon him and on this score he settled in the more genial and temperate land of England. There he was no doubt elevated to the peerage, but it cannot be said that in Great Britain he acquired as much prestige as he might have looked forward to as the Ex-Prime Minister of Canada. He certainly did not reach the status of an Empire Statesman as General Smuts of South Africa did. In any event it is unlikely that he has had much influence on those who now shape British policy. We do not know if his return to Canada is temporary or permanent and if it is due to any political disappointments in England.

His outburst against Willkie need not be taken merely as the result of his efforts to please the diehards in Great Britain. In Canada the British settlers have all along been very sensitive as to criticism in the new world of British foreign as well as imperialist policy. They themselves may have fought the British Government for freedom and self-government. But, it may be repeated, they resent any criticism now of British attitude both towards the Empire and towards other countries. This is paradoxical but it is there. Lord Bennett has only reflected the general feeling among the British elements of the Canadian population. Since the above was written Lord Bennett has returned to England and in a speech has reiterated his views upon British policy towards India.

Reviews and Notices of Books

The Sermon on the Mount.—By C. F. Andrews, with a Foreword by Rabindranath Tagore and an Introductory Note by Agatha Harrison. Published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. Pp. 175.

'Deenabandhu' Andrews had been requested by a Hindu friend to write a life of Christ. The reviewer who enjoyed the privilege of coming into contact with him daily in his last illness was told how eager he was to finish it for even then he was hoping that he would be spared to complete the work, an expectation which remained unfulfilled. The manuscript of the book under review was found at Santiniketan which he had made his home and is now published.

The reviewer has studied many commentaries and expositions of the Sermon on the Mount but not one of them, valuable though they are in their own way, has impressed him so much as Andrews' interpretation. And it is so, because every thought, every sentiment has sprung from a personal realisation of the principles underlying it. Permeated throughout by a deep sense of religion, it places the fundamental ideals of the Sermon in bold relief and constitutes a challenge to the modern world which, calling itself civilised and Christian, feels no hesitation in acting contrary to them, the tragedy of the situation lying in the startling contrast between profession and practice. In that connection, attention is drawn to what the author has said in the chapter headed "The Practical Test," which deserves careful study.

One of the uncharitable insinuations made against 'Deenabandhu' Andrews was that his intense love for India, the intimate contacts he had established with leaders of Indian thought such as Mahatma Gandhi and the Poet Tagore had either weaned him from or gradually made him indifferent to the religion into which he had been born. The long conversations the reviewer, himself a Christian, had with Andrews, the religious ministrations Andrews sought from the Metropolitan as well as what he has written in this book give the lie to such charges. The Christianity of Andrews lay, not in preaching it in and out of season, but living it in his daily life and showing it by his daily actions even when the latter implied the courting of misunderstanding.

The reviewer confesses his inability to give the reader anything like a complete idea of the contents of the book. His suggestion is that he should study, inwardly digest and, if the spirit moves him, make an attempt to live up to the precepts so simply and so convincingly expounded by this great friend of India. In that context, he is asked to remember that it was his ability to live the life of Christ which made it possible for this faithful apostle of Christ to face unflinchingly the criticism and the hostility of his countrymen in the discharge of what he considered his duty towards the country of his birth and the country of his adoption.

The remarks of Andrews on the Moral Rearmament movement, which is world-wide today with its insistence on the four absolutes—Honesty, Purity, Truth and Unselfishness—the foundations of the Christian, that is, the religious character and their intimate connection with the fundamentals of the Sermon on the Mount, are worth the careful consideration of those who, incapable of meeting these standards, seek to cover their inability by either calling it unpractical or escapist in outlook.

The one impression left on the reviewer by his contacts with Andrews was that he was full of the love of which St. John has spoken. The same note runs through his interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount, thus proving that

love of God with its concomitant, love for his creatures, was the dominant motive of his life. It is the love of God's children and impatience with injustice towards them which very largely explain his love for Indians and his attitude towards certain steps taken by the administration in order to maintain itself in power—matters referred to indirectly in the volume under review.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

Facing the Future.—By Lord Davies. Published by Staples and Staples, Limited. Pp. 183. Price 3*s*. 6*d*.

There is always a real danger that, after winning a war, the peace may be lost by apathy and thoughtlessness. Lord Davies, the noted British publicist, has addressed himself quite commendably to the task of fighting this particular danger. The result is a collection of eighteen lucid and eminently readable letters, written to two average citizens, John and Jane. The central argument is the necessity of preventing future wars, the insistence on an international Rule of Law. The letters are, therefore, quite aptly signed as Robert the Peeler, the British symbol of justice and order.

Lord Davies puts forward an interesting scheme of organisation after the war. The crux of his vision lies in a Federal Union of English-speaking peoples, a British-American Commonwealth of 200 millions with the existing units managing their internal affairs. The Federal Parliament is to consist of a Representative Assembly elected on the population basis and a Senate with equal representation from the United States and the British Commonwealth. The Federal Executive will preferably follow the British model of responsible government. At the head of the Union, there will be a President as the symbol of unity, holding office for a term of years, the post being held in rotation by the King and the President of the U. S. A. The Federal Government will have exclusive control only over Foreign Policy and Defence together with the necessary Taxation, the other functions of administration being entrusted to the federating units themselves.

On the model of this British-American Commonwealth, this nucleus of the new world-order, other zones are invited to frame similar Federal Unions in their own regions. Lord Davies suggests five other Unions—the United States of Europe, the Soviet Federation, the Far East (including both China and Japan), India (with the Middle East thrown in), and Latin America. Curiously enough, he leaves out the African continent from his list and does not contemplate the liquidation of European domination over that last stronghold of Imperialism.

The half-a-dozen Federations in their turn are to join in a World Union, which is to be a Confederation with three central organs—the Council of the Six Federations, the Equity Tribunal (to which all disputes must go automatically) and the International Police Air Force (the overwhelming strength of which will ensure order everywhere). This completes the picture of Lord Davies' Utopia and it must be admitted that his advocacy of his project is sincere, passionate and persuasive.

The snag lies obviously in the question as to how Lord Davies' plan is to be attained—a problem which the author never faces directly. His basic assumption is that what is necessary is merely propaganda and creation of public opinion in support of the desired reforms—that political education is the only thing needed. Lord Davies assumes that the citizens he has addressed are so many Lord Davieses who will respond almost automatically to his preaching. He thinks it quite feasible to win over in this way a majority of the 200 millions of English-speaking peoples to his project. The many more millions of the potential members of the other regional Federations are to be converted to the new gospel in some unexplained and, therefore mystical, process.

The conversion, one by one, of millions of individuals all over the world, by political education based upon an appeal to reason, is Lord Davies' panacea. He rules out definitely two other approaches to the problem of setting up a better world-order. All revolutionary methods of transformation are against his creed of democracy and the doctrine of counting the majority. Any economic reorganisation, a fundamental change in the social order, appears to him unnecessary and unimportant. Lord Davies is erecting his brave new world on the mere vague dislike of war in the common man, on human reason disapproving of the losses and discomforts inflicted by a world-struggle. If history has shown anything, it is, however, the lesson that such weak forces are quite inadequate for the high purpose to the support of which our author calls them.

His analysis of the basic causes of modern wars is absolutely unconvincing. We are coming to realise more and more that at least the world wars of the present epoch are not the outcome of human depravity or personal ambition or racial pugnacity. They proceed almost naturally out of the basic contradictions of Capitalist Imperialism. A social-economic analysis of Fascism, for example, is surely a better way of understanding why such a system breeds war than the theory of racial madness or the megalomania of isolated leaders. Lord Davies ignores the economic content of modern society and his mind dwells on the conceptions of a vanished age. Startlingly advanced his proposals might seem to be; yet the background to his thought is the eighteenth century conception of society as a community of individual atoms—equal, enlightened, free, rational and, it may be added, fairly well-to-do (since politics, and not economic relationships, loom large in their horizon).

The resolute refusal to investigate the economic roots of politics and to face the problem of revolution leads our author to scatter naïve remarks in his book, remarks which do not stand up to scrutiny. Thus, he believes that the rule of the majority means that laws are made in the general interest, and not in the interest of any particular class or section (page 18). He affirms that British rule in distant lands has ensured the end of oppression (page 45). He does not see why German industrial supremacy in Europe points to German ascendancy on the continent (page 67). The Russians of today appear to him to be the best example of the economic man (page 80). The interests of capital and of labour are proclaimed to be the same (page 102). The British have a "duty" to look after the backward peoples, "the niggers in Africa" for example (page 106). There will be "a devil of a mess" if the British suddenly clear out of India (page 109). The English Union would merely merge their colonial possessions under the new Federal Government (page 112). It was an act of folly to give Eire complete liberty of action (page 116). The Anglo-American Navy may be given the task of policing the seas on behalf of the World-Confederation (page 159). At times, Lord Davies' new Liberalism wears very thin indeed.

Lord Davies has presented quite an attractive scheme for a political re-organisation of the world. But he has evaded the main problem of how the end may be achieved—which, by the way, is the common characteristic of all Utopias. And he has also turned his face away from the growing consciousness that only an economic system basically different from contemporary capitalism (and fascism is merely an acute expression of the latter) can give any reasonable guarantee for a better and more humane world-order.

S. C. SARKAR

Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods).—By Percy Brown, M.B.E., A.R.C.A., F.R.A.S.B., Secretary and Curator, Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta. Pp. x+211, Plates—Frontispiece and pp. xxi-cxviii. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.

Fergusson's *Indian and Eastern Architecture* was the pioneer work on the subject, and though it suffered from a few drawbacks unavoidable in such

kinds of work, its good features were so many that it had long remained the standard one. It was Fergusson who for the first time successfully enunciated the principle of architectural style in tracing out logically 'the historical sequences of the Hindu monuments and make them tell their own story by means of those guiding principles.' E. B. Havell, however, criticised the very principle of styles of Fergusson and was of opinion that his great pioneer work 'was fatally biassed by the fundamental misconception that the history of Indian sculpture, which is the history of Indian temple-building, from the third century A.D., was written in decay, and by his total failure to read the symbolic language of Indian art.' It is true that Fergusson seldom cared to understand the symbolism undoubtedly underlying the art creations of ancient and mediaeval India; but many of Havell's own attempts at interpreting it without reference to proper textual authorities have so much been influenced by subjectivism of his own, that some of them have rightly been challenged by his critics. A. K. Coomaraswamy, in his *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, tried to steer a middle course, and utilised most of the good features of Fergusson's and Havell's studies, in his own original presentation of the subject. He inaugurated, however, a hitherto little used method of studying early Indian architecture in his illuminating article on the theme, which appeared in the *Eastern Art*, a quarterly art journal published in Philadelphia. There he showed how indigenous treatises on *Vāstuśāstra* (science of architecture) as well as archaeological data that can be collected from ancient remains can be fruitfully studied side by side.

The present work under review by Mr. Percy Brown, an eminent exponent of Indian art, especially of Indian painting, is the next comprehensive attempt after Havell who was one of his predecessors in the Principalship of the Government School of Art, Calcutta, on early and mediaeval Indian architecture. It is the first of the two projected volumes on Indian architecture, confining itself to the early Buddhist and Brahmanical aspects of the subject. The second volume which is to appear in the form of an independent book will deal with the development of Moslem architecture in India up to modern times. The author is well-justified in thus modifying his original intention to produce a single monograph on Indian architecture incorporating in it all the phases of the subject, for that would have made it too cumbrous to be conveniently studied and handled. Even in its present size, the work is fairly bulky, consisting of more than two hundred pages closely printed in small characters and as many as one hundred and nineteen plates. But so numerous are the data available for a careful and scientific study of this vast subject, most of which have already been so laboriously collected by the previous writers and generations of archaeologists, that anything less would have detracted its value as a book of reference.

The book consists of as many as 32 chapters with one Appendix (containing extracts from a note on the presumed chronology of the Ajanta and Ellora rock-architecture prepared by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Edgley of the Calcutta High Court), a Glossary as well as an Index, both of which are very useful to the readers. A list of proper reference books is added at the end of each chapter and there is a short General Bibliography at the end of the book; this method obviates the necessity of adding copious footnotes which practice, though scientific and accurate, is deprecated by some writers.

After giving his readers an idea about the principal building activities of the Indians in the pre-Vedic and Vedic periods in his Introductory chapter, the author deals with the beginnings of the Buddhist School of architecture under the Mauryas, the Sungas and the Andhras in the next three chapters. In several subsequent chapters (V, VI, XII and XV), the Rock-cut architecture of India from the 2nd century B.C. to the 10th century A.D. has been delineated in its various phases. Chapters VII and VIII deal respectively with the theistic Buddhist monasteries of Gandhāra and early South Indian Buddhist architecture respectively. Buildings in brick, the Guptan and the Chalukyan architecture

are treated by him in Chapters X, XI, XIII, and XIV, the Dravidian style being elaborately dealt with in several chapters (XVI-XX). The next few (XXI-XXVI) deal exhaustively with the Northern or Indo-Aryan style in which the various temple-groups of Orissa, Khajuraho, Rajputana, Central India, Gujarat, Western India and the Deccan are accounted for. In the chapters following them, are discussed such interesting topics as the temples with gabled and multiple roofs, the temple cities of the Jains and the later Chalukyan style of architecture. The last two are concerned with the Buddhist and Brahmanical remains of Kashmir from the 3rd to the 14th century A.D., and the Brahmanical buildings of Bengal from the 8th to the 17th century A.D.

The learned author has acquitted himself well in the task undertaken by him, and his efforts have been crowned with an appreciable amount of success. His tentative reconstructions of early architectural forms now lost to us, on the basis of relievo-representations of contemporary and subsequent dates, are very interesting and suggestive no doubt, though a few of them appear to be a little too conjectural. Mainly following Fergusson in his broad classifications of architectural style, he has arranged his numerous data in a very skilful manner and has presented his subject very well; moreover, the whole volume is interspersed with his many original and thought-provoking remarks. His observations on the problem of the origin and development of Indian temple-architecture are cautious yet comprehensive, and his treatment of its various aspects is clever and scientific. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Edgley's reconsideration of the chronology of the Ajanta and Ellora caves in the Appendix is based on substantial data, and his emendations of their respective dates are acceptable.

The quality of the book would have been further enhanced, had it not suffered from a few slips and inaccuracies, such as, 'the rise of the Mauryan dynasty towards the end of the fifth century B.C.' (p. 5), his assignment of the rock-cut vihāras of Nasik (usually known as Nahapana, Gautamiputra and Śrī-Yajña vihāras) on inscriptional and other evidence to the first century A.D. (p. 34), Rani Gumpha is dated 50 B.C. in the text (p. 36)—but in the plate (xxiv), the date is given as 150 B.C.; etc. It is also unintelligible why the author spells such well-known words as Dhauli, Khandagiri, Diodotos, Sakala, sanghārāma, śikhara, Chezarla, etc., as 'Daulia' (p. 35), 'Khandragiri' (p. 35), 'Dioditus' (p. 38), 'Cakela' (p. 39), 'sangarama' (pp. 40-41), 'shikara' (p. 43), 'Cherzala' (p. 48), etc.; many more such unusual spellings occur in the book. He has also desisted from using diacritical marks while Romanising Sanskrit and Prakrit words; but the latter ought to have been properly transliterated in a scholarly and scientific work. The use of credal names, such as 'Hīnayāna,' 'Mahāyāna,' etc., while denominating architectural styles should not have been persisted in a modern work on Indian architecture, and the author should have utilised textual data in elucidating the architectural types. Fergusson could have refrained from using the texts on *Vāstuśāstra* in his days; but so numerous are such data made accessible to the students of the subject at present, that any comprehensive monograph on it could ill-afford to ignore them altogether. There are a few notable omissions in the book, Paharpur being one of the chief among them.

Inspite of these few inaccuracies noted in the para above, there can be no question that the learned author has attained a great deal of success in his study, and his book will always find a prominent place among the several well-known works on the subject, and it will be really useful both to the general readers and specialists. The publishers are also to be congratulated for the excellent plates and the handsome get-up of the volume.

JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA

Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute—Vol. III, Nos. 3-4.

The workers of the newly-founded Deccan College Research Institute are to be congratulated on the excellent Bulletin they are bringing out. The

Bulletin has already won recognition from scholarly circles, and judging by the general excellence of the articles which have hitherto appeared in it, it is not difficult to prophesy that the Bulletin will prove a healthy stimulant to the drooping spirit of scientific research in philological subjects in present-day India. Fascicle No. 3 opens with the article "The Nominal Compounds of Satapatha Brāhmaṇa" (which is the first of a series of studies in the rhythm of Old Indo-Aryan vocables) by S. M. Katre. For his material Katre depends wholly on the lists prepared by Madame Willman-Grabowska, and therefore has unwillingly repeated some of the mistakes of this distinguished Polish lady pointed out long ago by the present reviewer (see *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1932, p. 801). I fear, few will be able to concede to Katre that *akhyat* is a case of rhythmic shortening. There are genuine cases of metrical shortening already in the Ṛgveda, but these Katre has not discussed. C. H. Shaikh has given interesting notes on "Some Literary Personages of Ahmadnagar." I. J. S. Taraporewala in his short but instructive article has tried to show that the text of the Gāθās as we have today represents more the *gāna* text adopted for chanting." Mehendale's "A Comparative Grammar of Aśokan Inscriptions" is a piece of really sound and sober work. Its completion will be eagerly awaited by all interested in Middle Indo-Aryan studies. "A Comparative Etymological Index to *Formation of Konkani*" by S. M. Katre, though so modestly titled, is in fact a crisp etymological dictionary. H. D. Sankalia has contributed an interesting article on the "Cultural Significance of the Personal Names in the Early Inscriptions of the Deccan" in which the collected material has been cleverly arranged and classified.

The greater part of fascicle No. 4 is taken up by Apte's "All about '*Vrata*' in the Ṛgveda." The article under this fetching title is, however, disappointing. What the author has tried to do here is to show that this word in each of its occurrences in the Ṛgveda has a meaning suggesting physical motion. Inspite of much violence to many passages, author has not succeeded in his object. Every passage containing this word has been translated and elaborately commented upon. Much space has thus been filled, but it is doubtful if any other object has been achieved. "Mantras cited by Pratīkas in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and not traced to the Ṛgveda" by P. K. Narayana Pillai is strangely rambling. The same must be said also of the final article by D. V. Garge dealing with the treatment by Śabara of the Ṛgveda-passages cited in his Bhāṣya.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

Elements of English Prosody.—By Messrs. Chopra and Banerjee.

English Prosody is difficult for foreigners, the more so as its rules are rather elastic. Iambic, trochaic and anapaestic feet are juxtaposed and mixed up to the bewilderment of students, who, misled by the first foot, expected lines wholly iambic. The length of the verse varies and even stanza formations are altered for reasons which they are at a loss to follow. Then again authorities do not agree about scantion and so much depends on the manner of reading a poem.

The most important question undoubtedly is whether Indian students appreciate the rhythm of English poetry and whether their instinct is rightly guided so that they may eventually love it whatever might be their first reaction. Niceties do not matter much. This handbook is intended for beginners and it aims at explaining the rules. The illustrations are carefully chosen but the authors will be well-advised to reproduce selections from a larger variety of irregular passages and to keep in view the main object which is to make Indian students feel the rhythm of English verse.

M. M. BHATTACHERJI

Ourselves

[I. Visit of the Chinese Educational Mission.—II. The University and Civil Defence Corps.—III. Nagarjuna Prize for 1941.—IV. Johan Van Manen.—V. University Representatives on the I.F.A.]

I. Visit of the Chinese Educational Mission

On the 12th April last the Chinese Educational Mission visited the University of Calcutta, under the leadership of Dr. Ku. It first went to the College of Science and Technology where it was received by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. B. C. Roy, and taken by him and Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, the President of the Post-Graduate Councils in Arts and Science, round the different departments and laboratories. Thereafter the Mission visited the Central Library of the University and subsequently its members were present at a tea party given by the Vice-Chancellor and the Syndicate. Among those who were present at the party besides the Fellows and the members of the Syndicate were Mr. Naliniranjan Sarker and the Hon'ble Sir B. P. Singh Ray.

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II. The University and Civil Defence Corps

Some time ago the University prepared a scheme in regard to the organisation of a Civil Defence Corps among teachers. The Government of Bengal refused to approve of the scheme and to grant any financial assistance for its working. The Vice-Chancellor then referred the matter to Sir J. P. Srivastava, the Civil Defence Member of the Government of India. The latter also has expressed his inability to be helpful in this regard towards the University.

* * *

III. Nagarjuna Prize for 1941

The value of the above prize has been equally divided among Mr. Narayanchandra Ganguli, M.Sc., Mr. Susilkumar Mukherjee, M.Sc., and Mr. Kalicharan Saha, M.Sc.

IV. Johan Van Manen

Recently the death of Mr. Johan Van Manen took place in Calcutta. He was for years the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and was a Fellow of this University from 1929. He was also for some time a member of the Faculty of Arts. In recognition of his services to cultural development in this province the title of C.I.E. was conferred upon him. By his death Calcutta has lost a prominent citizen. We offer our condolence to his friends and relatives.

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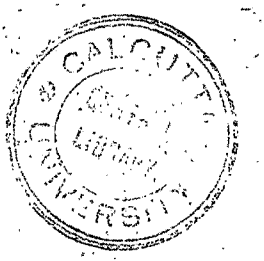
V. University Representatives on the I.F.A.

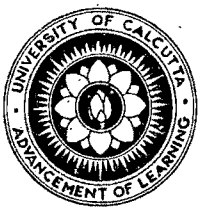
Mr. Satischandra Ghosh, M.A. and Mr. Umaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., have been nominated by the University for co-option to the Governing Body of the Indian Football Association.

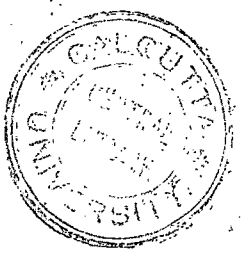


THE LATE SIR NILRATAN SIRCAR

Born :
1861

Died :
1943





THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW
JUNE, 1943

WAR FINANCE, INFLATION AND THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE: THE INDIAN CASE

BIMALCHANDRA SINHA, M.A.

THE question of inflation has recently been looming large before the public. In an extremely well-written pamphlet Professor C. N. Vakil has recently examined the whole position and has clearly shown why and how the Government of India is drifting into an inflationary process that has become almost a dread since the last war. Prices in India, have, in many cases, reached startling heights ; such a rise of price, coupled with scarcity of supply, sets in motion a vicious circle that generally goes by the name of inflation. But whatever may be the present gravity of the situation, graver results are yet to follow. For inflation in a modern scheme of war finance has a deeper significance and produces far-reaching effects both in the short and in the long period. Economists do not appear to have realised yet the full significance of inflation from this point of view. But time has arrived when we must not look at the problem of inflation merely as a temporary phenomenon but must be fully conscious of the deeper and ultimate effect that inflation as an instrument of war finance is likely to bring about. Examined from this view point, inflation in the real sense of the term is a disturbing element throughout ; it is an anachronism which does not fit in with the nature of modern war finance.

INFLATION: ITS MEANING

Before we proceed further, it is necessary to be precise about the meaning of the term. Needless to say, all price-rise is not necessarily inflationary in character ; it may just happen that the price-rise may be

the effect of a normal adjusting process and as such not only not harmless but of positive benefit. It is, therefore, necessary to distinguish between a price-rise and a price-rise, for inflation means a price-rise of a very peculiar type. Keynes used the term in his *Tract* to indicate an expansion in the supply of money to spend relatively to the supply of things to purchase. Since then, there has been an increasing distinction between investment goods and consumers' goods and it has become necessary in any discussion of inflation to take account of the incentive of the community to save or to consume and the relative abundance of consumers' goods or investment goods. Ordinarily, inflation implies "an increase in money more than proportionate to the accompanying increase in production." But examined more closely, it should mean not that stage of semi-inflation which very often popularly goes by the name of inflation but the "tendency in money-prices to rise without limit, irrespective of the marginal propensity to consume."[1] This definition, therefore, naturally excludes all normal and mild doses of deliberate price-rise from the category of inflation and indicates what President Roosevelt termed "a state of spiralling domestic economy."

The Problem Stated

Keeping this definition in mind we may now proceed to show how inflation as a method of war finance is rapidly becoming an anachronism. Briefly speaking, inflation in this sense sets in motion certain tendencies which are conflicting with other economic tendencies set up by other measures of war finance. In the short period, inflation disturbs the economic balance and the working equilibrium between savings and investment that are essential for a total war effort, while in the long period inflation sets at nought the tendency towards greater economic equality that a total war must bring about. As we shall presently show, it is not for nothing that the belligerents have scrupulously abstained from resorting to this handy method of war finance. War finance of present magnitude demands also a workable economic equilibrium that is impossible to maintain if the inflationary forces get free play; inflation in this context becomes ultimately nothing but an obstruction to war effort itself.

What are the problems of modern war finance? Obviously, the question now is not a question of loans *or* taxes but of loans *and* taxes and many things more. The belligerent nations have, in recent days,

1. Keynes, *General Theory Employment, Interest and Money.*

resorted to three major sources of war finance. First, the increased Government expenditure can come, to some extent, out of an increased national income. That is to say, the Government may take an *increased* share of the *existing* national income or the Government may also try to *enlarge* the existing national income and take a still greater share of the same. We may include taxes, loans and voluntary contributions in this category. But all these have not been sufficient for meeting the huge expenditure; hence drafts on capital. Different Governments have not only been trying to utilise all idle capital resources but there has been also in progress for some time a process of regular *dis*investment both at home and abroad. Internally, non-replacement of trading stocks is evidence of that tendency, while, externally, liquidation of foreign investments has become a common feature of this war. The inevitable implication of all these measures is that popular consumption has to be reduced if the Government is to receive a greater share of the national income as also of the capital resources. Hence the war-time restriction on popular consumption through taxation, savings, direct physical limitations such as rationing, etc., and inflation. It is true that inflation brings about a reduction in popular consumption in real terms and also helps the Government in a desperate financial situation, but that is no reason why any sensible Government would go in for deliberate inflation when that is likely to involve the whole economic system in chaos.

Short Period Implications: Savings, Investment and Consumption

There has been much controversy among economists regarding the rôle of savings, investment and consumption in the national economy. But the fundamental point about all this is that a breakdown occurs whenever the community tries to save in money without saving in real terms. There is, of course, no unanimity of opinion regarding the actual definition of these terms as also regarding the details of the process, but as the *Economist* wrote some time ago, virtually every serious economist, in every country, is agreed on the main outlines of the diagnosis, and there is even a substantial measure of agreement as to the cure. Thus a period of depression is nothing but a period when communities do spend less than is required to buy their whole output. When that happens, it is because savings are in excess of investment, that is, the community is trying to enrich itself by amassing claims on itself rather than by accumulating physical property of lasting value. Now, when the Government has to raise huge sums for meeting war expenditure it is only essential that the economic system should be on an even keel. We

might rather say that the causal relation goes the other way round and it has been possible to raise huge sums in this manner without any economic breakdown only because the methods used also secure a balance between savings, investment and consumption. If a modern community has an inherent tendency to save more than it can invest, the encouragement of consumption at the expense of saving is a sound long-term policy. But the economic conditions during the war are rather peculiar in character; as consumption is cut down, savings become often excessive and assume unhealthy proportions if not properly taxed out or voluntarily contributed. Rationing of civilian consumption, taxation of extra income, campaign for voluntary contribution—all these, therefore, should be so adjusted as to enable the Government to have the maximum benefit with the minimum disturbance to the economic system. An examination of the economic conditions of wartime Britain reveals that such an adjustment has been more or less secured. The following table shows the extent of reduction in popular consumption as also the increase in Government expenditure—

TABLE I [1]

NATIONAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE IN REAL TERMS

(Net National Income at Factor cost in 1938-100)

	4th Quarter		
	1938	1940	1941-42
Net National Income at Factor cost	100	109½	112½
Consumption	77	69	63
Government expenditure	19	73½*	74*
Investment (or Disinvestment) ...	4	−33*	2−4½*

It would be evident from the above table how the Government has been drawing both on popular consumption and on capital resources, so

* 1940 figures of Government expenditure include payment out of capital assets, for many things which in 1941-42 are obtained on Lend-Lease Terms.

[1] *Economist*, Jan. 31, 1942.

much so that the process of disinvestment has already begun. It is to be noted however that popular consumption has not gone down to that extent as has been the case with capital issues.

TABLE II [1]

TOTAL BORROWING INCLUDING STOCK EXCHANGE

Including "Permission to Deal" (Million £)

Calendar Years	British				Empire	Foreign.	Total Issues
	Government	Home corporations.*	Others	Total Home			
1938	75.9	27.7	110.1	213.7	53.7	5.7	273.1
1939	36.8	12.1	66.2	115.1	25.5	2.2	142.8
1940	1070.8	*nil.*	16.6	1087.4	1.3	*nil.*	1088.7
1941	1497.5	*nil.*	8.0	1505.5	4.2	0.1	1509.8

In fact, an intensive study of British war finance reveals that there has been, on the one hand, an effort to maintain popular consumption at the highest possible level while there have been, on the other, a well-aimed taxscheme and a strong campaign for loans and voluntary contribution for taking out savings. The figures in Table I show that popular consumption has not fallen so steeply in England as many other things. This would be more clear from the following table which gives consumption figures both for Great Britain and the U.S.A.—

TABLE III

GREAT BRITAIN				U. S. A. (*vide* World Economic Survey, 1939/41)			
Consumption as percentage of net national income at factor cost in 1938 (*vide* Table I)		Retail Sales (percentage change in value of retail sales from corresponding month a year ago).		Production of goods currently consumed.		Production of Investment goods	
1938 (4th Qr)	1941-42 (IV Qr)	Food (Jan. 1942)	Merchandise (Jan. 1942)	1939 (III Qr)	1941 (II Qr)	1939 (III Qr)	1941 (II Qr)
77	63	−1.1	+12.0	114	143	127	127

* Including Country and Public Board Loans

[1] *Economist*, March 14, 1942; *Commercial History and Review of* 1941.

Retail sales of food and perishables in Great Britain showed in January, 1942, only a decline of 1·1 per cent. over January, 1941, while retail sales of merchandise recorded on actual increase of 12·0 per cent. Adjustments however have to be made for changes in the value of money in order to arrive at the real position, but even if we correct the figures for the rise of prices, (The U. K. *Economist* Index Number rose only by 1 point during the period in question) it must be admitted that there has been no such decrease in popular consumption as may be generally expected during a total war of this magnitude. Side by side, we may examine the tax-scheme as also the relative importance of loans and taxes in British war finance. Table V shows the relative importance of taxes and loans, while the next table gives a picture of the wartime tax scheme.

TABLE IV [1]

1st April to 31st October, 1942 (£ 000)

Total Ordinary Expenditure	3,080,585	Total Ordinary Revenue	1,383,320
New Sinking Funds	7,059	Loans Raised—	
Loans Repaid—Nat. Sav. Bonds	2,507	3% Defence Bonds net	64,757
Increase in Balance	146	3% Sav. Bond (1955-65)	46,540
		3% Sav. Bonds (1960-70)	183,904
		2½% War Bond (1949-51)	264,476
		3% Funding Loan (1959-69)	121,650
		Nav. Sav. Cert. (net)	108,200
		Tax Reserve Cert. (net)	220,970
		Other Debt (net)	212,526
		Floating Debt (Net)	
		Treasury Bills	110,149
		Bank of England Advances	5,250
		Public Dept Advances	30,535
		Treasury deposits	336,500
		Miscellaneous Receipts (Net)	1,520
	£ 3,090,297		£ 3,090,297

It would be seen that more than 55 per cent. of the total expenditure comes from loans, while the rest comes from "ordinary revenue" which is really not equal to taxation but includes other items also. Now, it has

[1] *Economist*, November 7, 1942.

been one of the special features of recent war finance that the small investor and the common man have also been given an opportunity to lend to the Government, but it cannot still be denied that loans come more from the relatively well-to-do people than from the marginal earner. Any way, these loans constitute the first step towards the elimination of unhealthy savings, which, if left to the private individual in this period of restricted consumption, would have gone into unhealthy channels and led to economic disequilibrium. We next come to taxes. It would be evident from the following table how the upper income-grades are being more heavily taxed than the lower ones, this eliminating again any unhealthy surplus that might have accumulated in the hands of the former.

TABLE V [1]

Direct and Indirect Taxation from 1903-04 to 1941-42

Income	1903-04	1913-14	1918-19	1923-24	1925-26	1930-31	1937-38	1941-42
£	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
100	5.6	5.4	9.9	14.1	11.9	11.0	10.4	19.1
150	4.5	4.4	9.0	13.5	11.6	10.9	9.5	16.7
200	4.8	4.0	7.9	11 8	10.2	9.6	8.4	14.8
500	5.3	4 4	10.2	8.0	6.2	4 5	5.6	18.4
1000	6.1	5.2	16.9	14 1	11.0	9.7	11.8	32 2
2000	5.7	4.9	24.0	17.9	15-2	15.7	18.0	40.5
5000	5.5	6.7	36.6	26.5	23.2	26.3	29.2	56.1
10000	5.0	8.0	42.5	37.1	31.2	35.8	39.1	68.3
20000	4.9	8 3	47.6	42 3	37.5	43.5	47.9	80.7
50000	4.8	8.4	50.6	48.0	44.4	51.4	56.7	90.7

But here too the emphasis is more on direct taxes than on indirect ones as may be judged from the following table :—

TABLE VI

£ (in thousands)

(April 1 to October 31, 1942)

Total Ordinary Revenue	Total Customs and Excise Revenue	Percentage of column 2 to column 1
£1,383,320	£514,971	37.2

[1] *Economist* October 24.

What are the implications of all these measures? Apart from their bearing on war finance, they have also another effect on the national economy. In other words, this adjustment between consumption, investment and savings is an essential pre-requisite of successful war finance inasmuch as the absence of any such adjustment is bound to release the disturbing elements in a capitalist economy and set in motion a vicious circle that would ultimately defeat war effort itself.

The Effects of Inflation

But all these operations would have been impossible if prices could not be kept under control. The U. K. *Economist* index number (1929=100) stood at 96.4 in 1939, but it reached only 122.6 in July, 1942, thus recording only a very moderate rise. In fact, inflation as a method of war finance may come handy to a Government in a desperate situation, but it always releases those disturbing elements which must be kept down in the interest of war finance. Inflation in the first place, gives the banks an opportunity to create money out of nothing and thus earn a profit which is almost in the nature of profiteering. But what is more important is the fact that inflation on the grand scale leads to the severest cut in the consumption of the lower income-groups while allowing a good profit to the big businessmen and profiteers, thus upsetting the balance between savings investment and consumption. Soaring prices almost inevitably lead to black markets with the result that big businessmen earn unjustifiable profits, upper income-grades may also buy goods at exorbitant prices, but the lower income-groups have no way out. Scarcity of supply pushes up the price-level, but inflation makes the situation still more difficult by making goods scarce, at least for the lower income-groups. In fact, this sets in motion a vicious circle which marks the beginning of a spiralling domestic economy.

The Position in India

Take for instance the case of India. Professor Vakil has shown that the recent increase in note issue has been out of all proportions with other economic trends in the country and as such constitutes real inflation. He has also effectively proved that the Government of India is drifting into inflation mainly because of the peculiar relations between India and England. In his opinion, the Government of India has to find out increasing amounts of rupee finance for several purposes—(1) for the excess of exports on private account; we may add that such excess is gradually dwindling ;

(2) for genuine additional expenditure for the defence of India; (3) for additional expenditure that India may be asked to bear on account of the elastic interpretation of the existing Financial Settlement between the Government of India and the British Government; (4) for financing the requirements of the British Government in India and (5) for financing the requirements of the American Government. The last three reasons are responsible for the limitless rise in prices that we are now having in India. It is not known how far the term "purely Indian liabilities" is being twisted to India's disadvantage, but the increasingly heavy amounts charged to England prove that the Government of India is being compelled to find out increasing amounts of rupee finance for this purpose—

TABLE VII

Expenditure in respect of Supply and Defence Incurred in India and made chargeable to U. K.

1939-40, Actual	4 crores of rupees (£3,000,000)
1940-41, Actual	53 crores of rupees (£40,000,000)
1941-42, Revised Estimates	185 crores of rupees (£140,000,000)
1942-43 Budgeted	387 crores of rupees (290,000,000)

The huge accumulation of sterling at India's credit is but another proof of the same process, while the increasing extent of Land-Lease in reverse has saddled the Government of India with another additional responsibility. The process is wholly an unnatural one. It should have been the duty of the debtor countries to undertake the responsibility of finding out rupee finance or to make payment in durable assets or gold in the absence of rupee finance, but here the process is reversed and the primary responsibility lies on the creditor country and not on the debtor country. For this reason Professor Vakil has concluded, and concluded very rightly, that "Government of India have drifted into an inflationary policy so far as the financing of the British Government in India is concerned." That this is pure inflation may also be judged from the fact that notes are being pumped into circulation when there is no big business in sight and other economic indices are showing a downward trend. For example, the percentage of advances and discounts for the scheduled banks has come down from 53 percent. in 1939-40 to 25.4 per cent. in March, 1943.

TABLE VIII

SCHEDULED BANKS

(Figures in Crores of Rupees)

	Demand Liabilities	Time Liabilities	Percentage of advances and discounts to liabilities.	Percentage of cash and balance with Reserve Bank to liabilities.
1939-40	140	106	53	10
1940-41	164	105	47	16.6
1941-42	202	104	40	14.8
Nov., 1942	383	105	19	17.5
5th March, 1943	367	120	25.4	13.2

Clearing house returns also conform to the same tendency ; the *Capital* index of industrial activity has also shown little rise during the period in question, the volume of foreign trade has also recently been on the decline, but notes are being pumped into circulation no matter whether internal economic conditions demand such currency expansion or not.

TABLE IX

NOTES ISSUED AND NOTES IN CIRCULATION

(Figures in Lakhs of Rupees)

	Total Notes issued	Notes in circulation	Sterling Securities in the Reserve
August, 1939	216,78	178,89	59,50
Average, 1939-40	227,75	208,86	78,32
Average, 1940-41	258,77	241,62	129,97
Average, 1941-42	320,63	308,46	165,44
On 5th March, 1943	634,80	625,38	395,73

What has been the effect of such a policy? The first effect of such a policy has been an abnormal rise in prices; the Calcutta wholesale index number has risen from 108 in 1939 to 227 in November, 1942. But the wholesale index does not reflect the real situation ; we shall have to go to greater details for finding out the effects of the policy on the national

economy of the country. We shall try to show that the cumulative effect of the Government of India's policy has been to penalise the lower income-groups while allowing the upper grades to escape with a comparatively lighter burden.

We have shown elsewhere that the war budgets of the Government of India are characterised by their emphasis on taxes than on loans, and on indirect taxes than on direct ones. We have seen a different tendency in this year's budget where taxes cannot make up the main portion of the huge deficit and resort must be had to borrowing in an increasing extent. But considering the budget as a whole it cannot be denied that the Government of India's fixation for regression has not yet disappeared. In a country where the average income level is extremely low, such regressiveness is perhaps unavoidable to a certain extent specially when large sums must be raised anyhow. But an examination of the current economic developments does not lend support to the view that such regressiveness is an unavoidable necessity. While taxation—and indirect taxation—is being screwed up to the highest possible point, upper income grades have strangely not been fully tapped. There has been, in the first place, no over-all increase in Pubic Debt ; on the contrary there has been an actual reduction even after the issue of rupee counterparts for sterling securities recently repatriated.

TABLE X

PUBLIC DEBT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

(In Crores of Rupees)

	Rupee Debt	Sterling Debt	Total
1938-39	709.96	469.10	1179.06
1939-40	727.79	442.49	1170.28
1940-41	861.17	344.93	1206.10
1941-42	942.29	180.00	1122.29
1942-43 (Prof. Vakil's estimate)	1026.96	—	1026.96

This is possibly a clear evidence of the fact that the upper income-groups have not been fully tapped and there is still perhaps a large margin of savings, which, under proper conditions may flow into the hands of the Government. In fact, the Finance Member also has, in this year's budget speech, practically admitted that there is still a large margin of savings, for otherwise his campaign for savings, voluntary contributions

and loans has no value. The fact that the idle resources have not been extensively utilised by the Government can also be deduced from the volume of bank deposits. Figures in Table VIII show that there has been a distinct shift towards greater liquidity, that is, towards demand deposits while the falling percentage of advances and discounts is another indication of the comparative idleness of existing resources. It is only natural that savings in these circumstances would exceed investment, with the result that the economic system would be heading towards a crisis and the poorer classes would groan under an ever-increasing burden of taxation, while the rich would be at a loss to find out how to invest money in a healthy economic manner. That is in fact the present position. The preponderance of indirect taxes is clear evidence of the relatively heavy burden that these poorer classes have to bear. Over and above this, the policy of currency inflation has resulted in a peculiar rise of prices which has fallen more heavily on these classes. The index number of wholesale prices compiled by the Economic Adviser reveals a very peculiar situation:—

TABLE XI

INDEX NUMBER OF WHOLESALE PRICES*

(Week ending 19th Aug., 1939=100)

	1940			1941				1942			
	May.	July.	Oct.	Jany.	April	July	Oct.	Jany.	April	July	
I. Food and Tobacco.	111.4	105.9	109.6	106.8	105.8	120.2	127.4	128.4	136.5	155.8	
II. Other Agricultural Commodities.	150.9	109.8	103.0	101.2	105.3	136.9	136.6	130.2	114.9	145.7	
III. Raw Materials.	123.8	116.0	118.5	125.9	128.0	145.3	150.7	158.7	162.3	162.3	
IV. Manufactured Articles.	130.2	114.6	112.4	121.4	132.3	151.8	164.1	158.6	162.5	172.7	
V. Primary Commodities.	122.1	110.4	111.6	112.8	113.9	132.2	137.5	139.8	141.9	156.5	
VI. All Commodities.	123.8	111.3	111.8	114.7	117.7	136.2	142.9	143.7	146.1	159.9	
VII. Chief Articles of Export.	126.5	108.3	110.6	114.2	114.9	140.0	146.1	142.2	139.7	152.2	

* The index number covers the following articles :—(1) Rice. (2) Wheat. (3) Tea. (4) Groundnuts. (5) Coffee. (6) Sugar. (7) Tobacco. (8) Copper. (9) Cotton, raw. (10) Jute, raw. (11) Linseed. (12) Pig Iron. (13) Coal. (14) Lac. (15) Wool, raw. (16) Hides and Skins, raw. (17) Kerosine. (18) Petrol. (19) Cotton Manufactures. (20) Jute Manufactures. (21) Cement. (22) Galvanised, Corrugated Sheet. (23) Leather, Group I (Food) and Tobacco) consists of items (1) to (8), Group II (9) to (11), Group III (12) to (18), Group IV (19) to (23), Group V (1) to (18), Group VI (1) to (23) and Group VII of items (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (7), (9), (10), (11), (12), (14), (15), (16), (20), and (23).

It will be seen that the index number for all commodities is showing a steady rise, but the highest point has been reached by "manufactured articles." Next come "raw materials," while "food and tobacco," "primary commodities," "chief articles of export" and "other agricultural commodities" come in sequence. The incidence of these varied price-rise has not been the same for different classes. It is difficult to distinguish clearly between different economic classes in India, but we can tentatively examine the position of at least three lower income-groups namely the agriculturist, the industrial worker and the middle class and contrast their position with the position of one or two upper income-groups.

The Middle Class and the Salariat

The effects of inflation on the middle class and the salariat are easily discernible and requires no elaborate discussion. The all-round rise in the cost of living is bound to affect this class adversely. Meagre dearness allowances and few additional persons getting employment are poor compensation for the loss sustained by the majority. If we exclude the few high-salaried persons at the top and think of the lower middle class and the small-salaried man there can be no hesitation to state that the rising price-level has been of no ultimate benefit so far as this class is concerned.

The Agricultural Classes

It will be seen from the above table that the index for food and tobacco has risen much more (61 per cent.) than that for other agricultural commodities. We have no cost of living index for rural areas, but the very fact that the rise under food-crops has been greater than the rise under money-crops suggests that the cost of living has risen relatively more than the income. It is however necessary at this stage to make further distinction between different agricultural classes. The 1931 Census gave a detailed classification which can be re-arranged in the following way:—(*a*) non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in money or kind, estate agents, managers, rent collectors, clerks, etc.; (*b*) cultivating owners and tenant cultivators and (*c*) agricultural labourers. Now group (*a*) is the upper class while groups (*b*) and (*c*) constitute the lower. High price of food-grains, raw materials and other agricultural commodities naturally profit the first group unless some special circumstance prevents them from realising fully their dues from the rentpayers. The second group also profits through a rise in the price of agricultural commodities but loses at the same time if the cost of living as also wage-rate of the agricultural labourer rise relatively faster. Group (*c*) again

profits through a rise in the wage-rate, but there can be no net benefit for this class if the wage-rate does not rise relatively more than the cost of living. According to the above index, rice has shown a rise of 118 per cent. in September, 1942, over the pre-war level, while wheat has risen by 123 per cent. Other agricultural commodities, however, have not risen beyond 52·5 per cent. while raw-materials have stood at 163·1, *i.e.* 63·1 per-cent. above the pre-war level. The rise in the cost of living has been out of all proportions; it is extremely doubtful, if not completely impossible, that there has been any such increase in income so as to more than offset this loss, more so when food and tobacco constitute one of the biggest items of the agriculturist's budget.

The Industrial Worker

It is difficult to examine the position of the industrial worker in the absence of necessary published statistics, but it should perhaps be admitted that the increasing volume of war production has been of at least some benefit. But we shall have to set against this the increasing cost of living. We shall have also to consider whether the net increase in income, if it has taken place, is also normatively satisfactory. The cost of living has recently gone up, often rapidly, in India; the Bombay Cost of Living Index has shown a rise of 32 per cent. between September, 1941 and September, 1942, while the Ahmedabad Index has gone up by 27 per cent. during the same period, the Patna index has risen by 36 per cent., Jharia Index by 58 per cent., Jamshedpur Index by 55 per cent., Cawnpore Index by 52 per cent. and so on. There are reasons to suppose that this increase in the cost of living has been relatively higher than the increase in the wage-rate. The following table gives the details about some of the Bombay industries for which figures were available:—

Table XII

	Bombay Ordnance Factories		Bombay Cotton Factories	
	1938	1940	1938	1940
1. Number of labourers daily employed.	3,500	9,000	3,37,000	2,99,000
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
2. Total annual wages.	9 lacs	33 lacs	12 crores 55 lacs	11 crores 58 lacs
3. Annual average wages.	206	378	361	388

If we correct the annual average wages for the rise in the Bombay cost of living during that period we would find that the real wages of Ordnance Factory labourers increased by 74 per cent., but the real wages of cotton mill workers increased by nothing more than 1 per cent. There is no reason to suppose that the condition of jute workers in Bengal is anything better.

The Regressive Element

We thus see that while the lower income-groups in India have not received substantial benefit through the war, they have nevertheless been compelled to bear the main burden. In direct contradiction to the policy adopted elsewhere, the Indian authorities have been successful in imposing a substantially regressive burden on the people. This has a double effect. It not only penalises, often unnecessarily, the lower income-groups but upsets the normal balance and alters the national economic structure in precisely the wrong way. The nature of the burden becomes clear if we contrast the position of the lower income-groups with the upper ones. The following table shows that while cotton manufactures have, in September,

Table XIII

(Base, Week ending 19th August, 1939=100)

	Cotton Manufactures	Cotton Raw	Jute Manufactures	Jute Raw
September, 1942	282	155	163	127

1943, risen by 182 per cent. above the pre-war level, raw cotton has risen only by 55 per cent. Jute manufactures have risen by 63 per cent but raw jute has recorded a rise of only 27 per cent. What are the implications of this difference? Clearly, the upper income-groups are enjoying a greater share of the benefit of price-rise at the cost of the lower income-groups. It is just possible that while the lower classes are actual losers in real terms, the upper classes are substantial gainers whether in money-terms or in real terms. Inflation is thus bringing about a redistribution of national income in favour of the upper grades. The severest cut in consumption has been imposed on smaller incomes but larger incomes have escaped with a proportionally smaller burden, while the Government has not yet exhausted satisfactorily other important sources of war finance such as the utilisation of idle resources. This process is being further helped by the peculiar tax-scheme and the lack of sufficient voluntary contribution.

The rates of progression in income-tax in India and elsewhere also reveal that the higher income-groups are escaping with a comparatively lighter burden. It is also interesting to note the importance of the Government as a borrower in the capital market. According to the figures given in Table II, the Government in Great Britain has borrowed 99·2 per cent. of the total issue during the year 1941 while "others" including industries, have borrowed only 8·0 per cent, of the total issue. There has not been anything on this scale in India not only because India needs more capital now to build up new industries but also because the tendency to save has been stronger than the tendency to invest. In fact, this evil has been further aggravated by the forced reduction of consumption specially for the lower income-groups. According to a recent estimate there has been a deficit of rice to the extent of at least 50 per cent. in Bengal for the current year.* The following figures also indicate the same tendency:—

TABLE XIV

INDIA

Investment Goods (*vide* World Economic Survey, 1939-41)		Paper for Civilian consumption	Wagons loaded on broad and metre gauges, 1st April to 31st December			
1939	1941	1943	Coal and coke for the public and foreign railways		Grains and Pulses	
(3rd Quarter) 103	(2nd Quarter) 137 (provisional)	90% less than in the previous year.	1941-42	1942-43	1941-42	1942-43
			9,47,045	7,81,025 (decrease 17·5%)	5,64,127	4,42,346 (decrease 21·6%)

Inflation in these circumstances creates more trouble, for it accelerates the tendency towards greater differentiation by shifting the burden on the poorer classes and thus setting in motion a spiralling domestic economy. Rather, those two matters are different aspects of the same policy, for those different phenomena are in a sense co-existent and derived from the same cause.

THE PRESENT AND FUTURE IMPLICATIONS

Now it may be asked: what are, after all, the effects of this disequilibrium between savings, investment and consumption? Theoretically

* *Vide* Bimalchandra Sinha, *A Note on the Present Food Situation in India, specially in Bengal.*

speaking, we have not adopted in this discussion the very peculiar definition of savings and investment adopted by Keynes in his *General Theory*. In the definition adopted by Keynes in his *Treatise*, saving was definitely not equal to investment automatically, for an excess of savings over investment is, by definition, equal to losses and an excess of investment over savings equal to profits. Profit (not normal profit), thus, being excluded by definition, investment is equal to income *minus* consumption *plus* profit. But, according to the *General Theory*, income includes profit, so that investment is nothing but income *minus* consumption. But actual saving, again, is nothing but total income *less* consumption. Investment, thus, is automatically equal to savings. But, as we have stated above, it is not our object here to go into these theoretical differences, for the main point is that, whichever way the definition goes, the economists are practically agreed about the main diagnosis of the disease. That is why it is essential that statesmen and financiers should evolve such a plan of war finance which also sets up a workable balance between savings, investment and consumption. In the absence of such a balance, it is only too probable that the economic system would break down, more so under the strain of war finance. The present tendencies now manifesting in India have, therefore, a serious background. The implications of "the tendency in money-prices to rise without limit, irrespective of the marginal propensity to consume" cannot, therefore, be fully understood except in this background.

We may now turn to several long-term effects of the above policy. In the first place, such a policy sows in the economic system the seeds of depression that often appears in the post-war period. This lack of adjustment between savings, investment and consumption facilitates that downswing which follows the upper turning point of the trade cycle. In the second place, we shall have also to consider the effects of this general principle on an agricultural economy. There are two aspects of the question. It is necessary, in the first place, to find out what is the 'multiplier' in this country and how the 'accelaration principle' works here. This would obviously depend on the nature of the economic structure as also on its sensitiveness to changing conditions, but it is doubtful whether the multiplier has so notable an effect where production is mainly agricultural and therefore non-elastic in character. Incidentally, it is interesting to enquire whether the 'multiplier' works also backward and if so what is its intensity during the backward flow. It is also necessary, in the second place, to find out whether this non-utilisation of savings in the proper manner means an opportunity of real industrial advancement permanently lost, for the growth of many mushroom companies at the present moment

is hardly an indication of organised industrial growth but rather harbours the possibility of a crash at the slightest difficulty.

Long-Term Effects: The Economic Structure

Thirdly, we shall have to consider the effects of the present methods of war finance on the national economic structure. Professor Bowley summarised the long-term effects of the last war in the following manner. "The general result of the whole system of taxation, wage adjustments, and social expenditure has been a very marked redistribution of the National Income, which in the aggregate was nearly the same per head in 1924 as in 1914." It is expected that this war will lead to a still further redistribution and still greater equalisation, for the total effect of the present measures points to that direction. But inflation sets up a contrary tendency and makes the National Income more unevenly distributed with the result that the tendency for uneconomic saving becomes more deep-rooted in the society than it would have otherwise been. That is to say, the social structure is so altered as to diminish permanently, though relatively, the marginal propensity to consume for certain classes, so that the seed of depression finds fertile ground for a long time to come. The trade-cycle, instead of being controlled, gets a greater scope.

Problems of Post-War Reconstruction

The effects of such a policy is bound to be disastrous also in the post-war world. If we look at the internal aspect of the problem we find that the task of post-war reconstruction within national boundaries is thus being made more difficult for India. It is a proved fact that many debtors of England are now slowly becoming her creditors not only because England is buying raw materials from those countries but also because she is depending largely on them for manufactures as well. This means that there are chances of a permanent change taking place in England's export schedule in the post-war world, so much so that British manufacturers would then be compelled to seek market in still backward countries like India than anywhere else. This means that Indian industries would be hit hard, this helping a cyclical breakdown. There is also another question. India too has now become a creditor of Great Britain in a small way. But the experience of the last war has definitely taught us that such debt-transaction on money-basis has the inherent danger of compelling the creditor nation to consume more goods of the debtor country in order to enable the latter to build up a national surplus. If this is the case with post-war India, that would

mean another vital blow to her industries. In fact, if England refuses to pay us in durable assets or in gold and merely earmarks sterling to our account, chances are that the tragedy which occurred in the Continent after the last war would now be repeated here. It is curious that while the western nations have learnt for themselves the danger of such a policy and have, for that reason, adopted the principle of goods paying for goods (that is, Land-Lease) instead of the money principle, the relation between England and India is still based primarily on the latter. But it should also be noted here that there is no guarantee that the goods-principle would be a panacea for all our evils, and this too, unless properly guarded against, may turn out to be a greater evil than the other principle. The money-principle affects in the first instance the course of international trade and secondly the international and national price-levels. That is to say, it affects the national industrial structure of the debtor country only indirectly through the mechanism of trade, exchange and price-levels, these latter receiving the direct impact. But if goods are to be repaid by goods on the grand scale it is not much of a prophecy to say that the creditor country will not only have influence over the foreign trade, exchange and price-levels of the debtor country, but would also weild more direct and extensive, if not a complete, control over the entire economic structure of the debtor country. The cry for freer trade raised by the leading partners of the "united nations" acquires a new significance from this point of view. It is now a swing from the high-tariff policy to the low-tariff one, but both are inspired by the same motive. It is interesting that when free trade meant the ruin of the creditor country protection was in high demand, but when there is no possibility of recovering loans except through freer trade, a cry has been raised for the abolition of trade barriers.

It would, however, be wrong to presume that India should be kept free from economic difficulties only for her own sake, for the relation of a primary-producing country with countries where secondary and tertiary industries predominate is, in fact, a complex one. It is futile to argue that a slump in India will not have its repurcussions elsewhese. This inter-relation between agricultural and industrial countries was sufficiently demonstrated during the last depression ; there are greater reasons to suppose that any economic breakdown in an important primary-producing country like India will have greater effects this time. The 'bancor' scheme recently suggested by Keynes envisages the possibility of raw materials as a means of international debt payment. The idea of an international clearing house with exchange of raw materials supported by an international equalisation fund certainly increases, if it does not do anything else, the economic importance of primary-producing countries in the

post-war world. But it is impossible to avoid a post-war depression if we cannot manage our war-finance successfully. As we have seen above, management of India's war-finance is being conducted on quite wrong and perverse lines inasmuch as the policies adopted are more for serving foreign interests than India's own.

The policy of inflation that has been adopted by the Government is not only an evil for the present inasmuch as it is inflicting untold misery and unparalleled suffering on the poorer classes and upsetting the econmic balance, but it has its effect also in the future. Post-war India will have to bear the legacy of this policy in the shape of an economic structure altered for the worse, containing within it the seeds of depression—a depression that will not only harm India but would also have prejudicial effects on the post-war world economy as a whole.

THE KAMALA LECTURES, 1941

[*Article-Review*]

KULAPATI JAYARAM COUSINS

THE founding in 1924 of the Kamala Lectures on Comparative Indian Life and Thought not only created, as Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, the founder, desired, a lasting memorial to his daughter, but put up an intellectual monument that simultaneously preserves his own memory in a 'living likeness' of his compendious patriotic mind. Like his immortal compatriot, Rabindranath Tagore, he was appreciative of the highest values of universal life and thought, but realised that such life and thought, as experienced and exercised by the people among whom he had taken birth, was a more intimate responsibility of give-and-take than that of differently constituted peoples in different natural and traditional conditions. Yet, also like Rabindranath, he believed that, while life and thought claimed indigenous nourishment and environment, they also required, for their full development, the influences of the wind and rain that came from other areas: hence the condition that the Lectures should be in the comparative method.

Vedantaratna Hirendranath Datta has, in the 1941 Kamala Lectures,* laid his scholarly and reflective mind alongside that of the founder, and in six lectures (counted as five with one of them in two parts) has set out, as his title, "Indian Culture: Its Strands and Trends," shows a study which calls upon wide knowledge and the gift of prophecy. Right richly has the Lecturer dealt with the subject; yet, with that generosity that in one mind is natural and in another accidental, he leaves something for his successors in lectureship to present. He defines 'Culture' as "the outer expression of the inner genius of a people," and tabulates the expression as a nation's reaction to life "in its own individual way" bodied forth in "its religion, philosophy, literature, arts and institutions." Yet, while his definition is inclusive, his treatment is purely intellectual, and, within the intellectual, exclusively Vedantic. A further definition of a 'nation' and its application to 'India' is implicit in the Lectures; and shows itself explicitly for a moment in the statement that Indian Culture was at one time "confronted

* *Indian Culture: Its Strands and Trends* (A Study in Contrasts—Five KAMALA LECTURES by Hirendranath Datta, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., Vedantaratna. Published by the Calcutta University.

with the risk of being swamped and 'Islamised.'" Opportunity is here left for future Lectures on comparative culture within the geographical area known as India. Moreover, the superb achievements of India in the arts and crafts (though these, being the reaction to the creative spirit in any individual or group, are more intimately and authentically an expression of 'inner genius' than intellectual formulation by its very nature can be) are confined to the one word 'arts' in the definition. It may be that Hiren Babu, who knew the fine exposition of Indian Art that Dr. Annie Besant made in the first Kamala Lectures, did not feel it necessary to touch on this aspect of Indian Culture; yet, from the comparative point of view imposed on the Lectures, a whole series would not exhaust the study of the similarities and dissimilarities of the arts of India both chronologically and regionally.

In the first two Kamala Lectures of 1941 certain qualities of Indian Culture (as defined) are set out. With the possible exceptions of ancient Egypt and China, "Indian Culture is of the greatest among all the cultures of our globe. What is more—though age-old, it is still alive and active." The secret of this virile longevity the Lecturer takes to be its "adaptability . . . cosmopolitanity . . . and . . . assimilation." Yet, though Indian Culture has from age to age "adjusted itself to its varying environments by effecting changes in its outer *form*, its *life*—what I have called its 'Soul'—has remained one and identical." The character of the soul-constant that has survived changes of expression is, Hiren Babu says, a bent towards "conservation and preservation and not for destruction or elimination." Its keynote is "unity in variety, oneness in manifoldness . . ." From this central unity comes the possibility of reconciling apparently opposed views of the universe, such as polytheism and monotheism; in reference to which it may be added as a feature that the Lecturer does not point out that the worship of One Life of the universe under many forms arises out of the monistic view of life, while insistence of worship of One God only arises out of the dualistic view. Behind these paradoxes lies much possible disquisition.

From the same conception of unity in diversity comes the possibility also of reconciling the apparent differences in humanity and its organization. "From this immanence of God follows, as an inescapable corollary, the solidarity of man." India, as the Lecturer points out, met the needs of diversity, and their super-need of unity of purpose that saved (or should have saved) the diversities from mutual antagonism, by devising "the wonderful system of Varnasrama Dharma." Here the Lecturer falls from dialectical grace. He admits the "degeneration in later times" of the Dharma, and in the same sentence attaches the

uncomplimentary adjective 'myopic' to those Westerners who have criticised the degeneration that he admits; while he makes no reference to Indians who have done the same during the centuries. At the same time, be it said, he quotes from two Westerners (presumably not of the myopic order), McCrindle and Deussen, in testimony to the high qualities of the Indian people under the Dharma. Reflecting on the ethnic origin of "the clan from which came Ranade, Tilak, Kelkar and Gokhale," he has realized the "wonderful power of assimilation" that enabled Indian Culture "to make these rank foreigners part and parcel of the Indian nation." The realization implies a hope for other 'rank foreigners' by physical tribal affinity who may have 'black hearts' (or brownish ones) under their white skins, as a Negro is said to have said, complimentarily, of a friendly white American.

The middle distance of Vedantaratna Datta's Kamala Lectures is taken up by contrasts, in which the Vedas and their Upanishadic offspring are seated in a group at the back of the stage, while the religion of Homeric Greece (as related in the 'Iliad') passes by, followed by mediaeval Christianity, modern pantheism and pessimism, Western classes and politics; and a tall legal gentleman, looking from the side of the central group to the passing pageant, sizes up the latter for the edification of the audience.

It is true that, as the author says of the Greek religion as found in the 'Iliad' (which, by the way, is a poem, not a religious treatise), "there is nothing in it even remotely resembling the Purusha of the 'Rig Veda.'" But if the later psycho-philosophical Upanishads are quoted in exposition of Vedic religion, it may be suggested that a similar service awaits being done to the Homeric presentation of the Greek religion through the individual and group philosophies that followed it. It may also be suggested that, if the Lecturer's assumption that his audience was familiar with the story of the Trojan war was correct, it was hardly necessary to take up twelve pages of the volume under notice to tell what is known. The space might well have been given to summary references to the religions of Eastern Asia, not to mention those of the Celtic Druids and the American 'Indians' in which there is considerable comparative affinity with the Vedic religion. Here again is space for a future lecturer on comparative Indian Culture who has the requisite knowledge beyond the narrow limits of the Universities of India.

The comparative cultural antitheses that Hiren Babu sets out are sharp and admirably memorable. Western pantheism declares God as immanent; Indian pantheism declares both immanence and transcendence. Pessimism, Western and Indian, admits suffering as an ingredient in

human experience ; but Indian philosophy points to liberation from life for those who " put forth the appropriate efforts."

In his contrast of Indian castes and Western classes he points out the difference between the translation of Varna as ' colour ' which makes a natal distinction between individuals and their " natural aptitude and vocation," and the erroneous term ' caste,' which, he says, " is class heredity, and has divided Hindu Society in these later days into as many as four thousand warring divisions." It would seem that the ' myopic westerners ' who criticised caste were not so near-sighted after all. The lecturer's description of the relationship between the caste-divisions as " warring " puts a stone in the hands of critics, and is not an exact term.

Western Culture comes in for much castigation through a comparison of modern ruthlessness (copiously illustrated by gruesome details of Central European atrocities) with the tolerance advocated by Manu. Comparative historical study would hardly accept the chronology of the comparison, or agree to the omission of any reference to happenings in the course of Indian history that were as much violations of Manu's law of tolerance as the Nazi atrocities are violations of Christ's law of love. Indian political culture, to complete the Lecturer's comparisons with various Western conceptions of human organization, is " . . . integration . . . co-operative collectivism . . . cosmopolitanism . . . World State."

The last of the Kamala Lectures of 1941 is given to an exposition of the Trends of Indian Culture. In old times it spread to the East : in modern times it has spread to the West. The Occidental trend is taken to be in despite of a famous statement that is frequent in East-West comparisons, and usually misquoted and misinterpreted for want of reference to available anthologies or editions. Says the Lecturer, " As you know, Kipling, in his shallow way, had declared :

> For East is East and West is West,
> And ne'er the twain shall meet."

Textually this is not Kipling. He did not set his statement out in two lines ; and he did not make an elision in ' never.' But these are peccadilloes in comparison with the wrong that is done to the statement by closing it off with a full stop, and thus making final what is actually carried on in the lines to a declaration of the circumstances under which East and West may meet. But the infiltration of Indian thought into the Western world goes on without regard to misquotations. Hiren Babu cites the high authority of Professor Jung, " The spirit of the East penetrates through all our pores," an opinion that includes India though its special reference

is to Chinese thought. In support of Professor Jung's statement he speaks of Emerson, Dr. Annie Besant and Dr. G. S. Arundale: but he might have added Beethoven, Schopenhauer, Edward Carpenter, Edwin Arnold, A. E., Yeats, and many others. It is good to hear of an Icelandic translation of the ' Bhagavad Gita.'

A concluding conviction passes into prophecy, " It is therefore not difficult to anticipate that Indian Culture has a great future, and that in the coming world-reconstruction, which is to follow the devastating war now in progress, Indian Culture will have an important part to play . . . . She will, as we can foresee, become the religious High Priest of humanity, and her culture . . . will transform civilisation and yet redeem the world." If this means that Indian Culture will contribute its share to the future transformation of thought and action in association with other Cultures, it is a noble and heartening vision. But if the limitation of Indian Culture to a particular view of life is final and unchangeable, the prospect of a Vedantic or Hindu Cultural Imperialism is not unlikely to appeal to the watchful and critical minds of both West and East as being a threatened imposition inconsistent with the ' co-operative collectivism ' and ' cosmopolitanism ' that is characteristic of Indian thought on the political side, and should, presumably, be equally characteristic of Indian thought on the religious and cultural side. In any event, it would appear to leave for future Lectures additional material for comparative study, and thus keep the Kamala Lectures from becoming an intellectual circus ring " with much motion and little progress."

It would have been helpful to students if a list of the previous Kamala Lectures (subjects and lecturers) had been given in the volume under notice. For the helping of those outside India who do not know Sanskrit (indeed for those inside India who are equally unlearned) it is most desirable that a second edition of this valuable series should systematise the quotations, which are sometimes in Sanskrit in the text with Bengali versions or Romanised transliterations as foot-notes, and rarely have English translations. An index would also be a help.

No price is stated.

THE TREND OF MODERN WRITING

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THERE is a Latin adage, "*Litera scripta manet,*" which means that "what is written down is permanent." That veteran arch literary critic, George Saintsbury, also remarked towards the end of his well-known "*A History of English Literature,*" in an equally dexterous and exuberant language, "It is the glory of the written word that conquers time."

Undoubtedly so. But in this present world of ours, even in spite of the acute shortage of paper, millions of literary books are written and published. Nevertheless, of this whole lot, only a few of them represent genuine and catholic literature. All the rest are swept away by the flood of time to the ocean of oblivion. Only true literature survives and lasts for ever. But the tendencies at work in the modern literary writings reveal an adverse picture. Let us, therefore, make a dispassionate study of this trend of modern writing.

Before I proceed any further, I must say that evolution has taken us so much forward and we are so much accustomed to the consequences of the changed and changing world, that sometimes we even forget and fail to realise how far we have advanced. It is difficult even to guess that a new world is being forged and a new trend of writing is gaining ground in the realm of the world literature.

We are told by the hordes of critics of modern literature that the tide of 'realism' and 'naturalism' is rising higher and higher in the domain of the present-day writings. They also assert that human life is being portrayed in all its nakedness; that artificialities have disappeared; and that the waves of disillusionment have washed off all that was formal and unnatural in us. This is what has aptly been designated as a "disillusionment of personal experience." We are, as if, so much overwhelmed by the present circumstances and the world in transition, that we cannot look at anything but at the hard and stern realities of life. At the same time we have inculcated a kind of cynical ideology to meet the "expected crash" which may come any moment. We are mere onlookers; we are not satisfied with the formal situations of our daily

life. We, and our contemporaries, want to see for ourselves and also to show to others the naked social problems deserving urgent and immediate reforms. They have created an incentive to the intellectual transformation in so far as literature is concerned. You may call it an innovation, if you like. But, you will agree, it is an innovation of a curious type. The cross-currents and under-currents of tyrannical and overswaying attitudes of the underlings of our underworld are vehemently exposed. And there is little doubt that these problems have a universal appeal, for the simple reason that these are the problems of all men for all times to come."

The main credit that should go to the modern writers is that they give expression to these problems as they appear to them, and they do not try to answer them. They simply diagnose and leave the cure to others. In other words, they present the social problems in their true colours. This is what has sometimes been called an 'anti-romantic' and 'anti-idealistic' tendency, which has gradually been developed due to a growing menace of the impending dangers and threats to our culture and civilization. Romanticism is opposed to realism, and idealism to naturalism: the sooner we do away with them, the better it would be for us, the world at large, and for generations to come. It is also argued that unthinking reformers wish to enforce unpractical and idiosyncratic ideals and that this symbolism will lead us nowhere, and is no better or worse than a fool's paradise.

Here a question may be asked as to how and why this 'realism' has sprung up! To my mind, it is the natural upshot of the reaction against the rainbow dreams of idealism and symbolism that prevailed immediately before the two world wars. It was mainly under this influence that a psychological development has most craftily been delineated with the result that we find to-day the trend of literary writing has to deal more with psychological factors than with idealistic or romantic, which are now spurned as a 'moonshine' or a "daydream of an opium-eater." In short, they do not believe in mere exploitation. The reactions felt by them are true and genuine.

As a matter of fact, these tendencies in themselves are reactionary. They mark the end of a period,—the period of the breakdown of capitalism. This is, however, not an end to a means, but a means to an end. A new tradition of an "individualist" movement in literature has been inaugurated. It represents the post-war search for change, for re-orientation, for re-discovery, and re-evolution and re-valuation, and an adventure for re-experimentation. It cannot also be denied that due to certain inexplicable reasons, certain corners of the human mind could not be

thoroughly brought to the surface before now. These modern writers are fully conscious of what is happening in the world around them, and they do realize that every one of them has got to play a part in this struggle to create a new and freer society. They cannot be won and bought over by reactionary forces. They are heralds of the progressive movement. They send good wishes to the combatants. They feel in the heart of their hearts that the struggle against reaction is just, and as such they are playing an active part in creating the society and culture of the future. Their conscience pricks them, and they confess that the present society badly needs a complete overhauling. They also comprehend that the existing structure of society cannot survive and that the era of finance-capital is over. Some believe that nothing can save the decaying civilization and that further development of culture is impossible. They bitterly criticize the loyalties at force. They are the symbols of the new spirit. The two wars have killed off the spate of the old conventions and traditions which were very near and dear to our fore-fathers. Lives and landscapes have changed tremendously.

So far so good. But what will this no society be worth? We cannot help noticing very sadly that the sophisti cated twentieth Century is sliding back to certain old, evil, sensational and licentious practices. Uprising of the new political "isms" and the shadow of impending economic slump, stringency and depression has darkened the temper of the times. This change has undoubtedly affected all phases of life, but more particularly has it influenced literature, as life and literature are the component parts of an organic whole. Our modern fiction, drama and poetry reflect a revolution of the worst type in the outlook and spirit of the whole generation. Onslaughts on religion, on dogmas, on morals and decency have become more virulent and envenomed. Melancholy is painted in its deepest form. Gloom has immensely deepened. We have supped full of blood and horror, mud and filth, obscenity and vulgarity. There is no slackening of the tension, no concession to overwrought nerves, no resting-place for the overwrought soul. Machines and machines and machines all around. Human life itself has become mechanical. Cannons to the right of them; cannons to the left of them. There are machines of destruction almost everywhere: tanks, bombers, fighters, anti-aircraft and above all there is a talk of the use of gas. And now instead of the age-old axiom we may modify it as "What machines we are and what machines we pursue."

The influence of this so-called new spirit has its more powerful exponents in Huxley, Lawrence, Joyce, Shaw, Eliot, Sinclair, Spender, and

Auden. In them the new fire has smouldered into a duskier and intenser heat. In some of their works, we find hate and hideousness, lust and lasciviousness, and a bitter ironic comment on the ways of men and women. Although they have studied these walks of life with earnestness and detail, yet they depict the decadence of morals. When any particular element occurs in excess, and disturbs the balance of forces which keeps the work a coherent and intact whole, then it is definitely in decadence, as it is used without any restraint or measure. Sensualism in some of their writings takes the place of character. Frustration and resignation, despondency and nihilism, are their keynotes. They are in short, demoralizing and degenerating the whole of the human race as they openly cultivate indecency. They play with the sentiments and passions of their characters and, if I may say so, of the readers as well.

It may be remarked that perhaps I am too sweeping in my condemnation of the tendencies of modern literature. May be, I am. But, I cannot help giving expression to what I and a section of people of my way of thinking do honestly feel, and in so doing I shall give a few specific instances to support my theorisation. I must also say that no author can ever escape from the influences of his or her time, and as such these writers have their places in literary history and derive from the great impulses which have set in motion all the enterprises of the present century. Their minds and hearts have been touched by the intenser conflicts of loyalties in these troubled times the like of which perhaps the world has never seen before. Some of the acute problems have baffled them beyond imagination, and it is an age of interrogation in the real sense of the word.

Space does not permit me to take into account fuller details. At any rate, I shall cite two instances. They are D. H. Lawrence and James Joyce. Till lately some of their books were not permitted to be imported in America and the British Empire. The ban on them has only recently been lifted. I do not take up these instances only because of the ban, but also because of the fact that their ranges are, to borrow the words of a great critic, 'extraordinarily narrow,' and their sense of character is not very strong, and they give us very little action and 'a good deal of aimless talk.' They suggest dark prompting chiefly with regard to sex. Not only that. They also try to 'philosophise' upon, instead of merely describing these "orgiastic impulses." They are really the writers of a 'world in rut,' and even so, are hailed as its 'prophets,' but, I am afraid, with most unfortunate results. Their spirits seem to have been thwarted and they can find no consolation. They have made, so to say, 'blue-prints' for a new world.

Lawrence's '*Lady Chatterley's Lover*,' first published in 1928, is undoubtedly a frank description of the physical relations of two lovers. Throughout the expression is fine, yet it has made no contribution to the wealth of literature and has added nothing to the form of the novel either. It has only led, as some one has put it, to a bolder description of sexual life than his predecessors. To say the least, this can be called a contribution to the "sexual science," and Lawrence's name may be bracketed with Miss Marie Stopes, Havelock Ellis, Costler, Hirschfeld, Tenenbaum and others.

Speaking of James Joyce with special reference to his *Ulysses*, first published in 1922, I have given it a very labourious, careful and patient study. Joyce attempts to write in a manner that will image the whole of life in a microscopic method, of the conscious, sub-conscious, and even, I should say, the unconscious. Towards the end of this novel, he has described the 'inner contemplations' of his characters concentrating on their own sexual life. He shows the 'mental wandering' and 'intellectual debauchery' of a person in Dublin for the space of 24 hours. There is a danger that this kind of lewdness will overlay the art altogether and without this, I am afraid, literature cannot and will not survive.

In conclusion, I can do no better than quote a remark of a Russian savant, Karl Radek, which is applicable to the whole gang. He has pointed out that this technique of writing has reduced 'naturalism' to 'clinical observation.'—"A heap of dung, crawling with worms, photographed by a cinema apparatus through a microscope,"—such is their achievement. This is not only vulgar in essence, but also purely pornographical in spirit, and a direct challenge to our ethical codes. This is not naturalism. This is not realism. This is ultra-naturalism. This is surrealism, which, as I have said before, is another name for 'blueprints,' for the sex-starved.

THE SOCIALIST VERSION OF BRITISH INDIAN HISTORY*

R. PRABHAKAR

THE doctrine of economic determinism as presented by Marx must rank with the concept of evolution as one of the most important contributions of the nineteenth century to historical science. A merely abstract study of this doctrine will not fully reveal either its potentialities or its inadequacies. These are completely brought out only when the theory is applied to some particular period of aspect of history. Such an application is contained in Mr. Lester Hutchinson's " Empire of the Nabobs. "

The economic interpretation of history, as a general theory is now a matter of common knowledge with the educated layman.. Briefly, Marx regarded the economic system as the fundamental factor in any given state of society. The character of a social order is conditioned by the means of production and distribution prevailing at the time. The owners of the means of production are the political and economic masters of their age. But no economic order is permanent. Primitive communism is superseded by feudalism, which in turn is replaced by modern industrial capitalism. Modern capitalism has brought into being a militant property-less proletariat which will overthrow the present order and establish a new classless society which alone will prove permanent. The succession of economic orders and the class struggle are to Marx the whole story of history. All else is a pale reflection of this fundamental process.

The aspect of Marxism that is most relevant in a study of British Indian History is what socialists decribe as the " imperialist stage of modern capitalism. " This is the stage when capitalism begins its search for external markets to feed the maw of industry. This in turn leads to colonial exploitation to imperialism. That the history of British rule in India represents this stage in the history of capitalism is the theme of Mr. Hutchinson's book.

One would expect an interpretation of British Indian history on these lines to be remarkably original, and rather different from the traditional text-book accounts. But until the great break in 1857 (a greater break for Mr. Hutchinson than for the orthodox historian) there is surprisingly little departure from the established grooves. The only explanation that can be offered is that the economic aspect of British Indian relations, at

* Lester Hutchinson, " Empire of the Nabobs."

any rate during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, has always been pretty much in the foreground. Any school-boy knows that the English came to India to trade and ultimately found themselves masters of the country.

Occasionally, however, we find Mr. Hutchinson emphasising certain facts overlooked by orthodox historians. After describing the opposition of the Mercantilist school to the trade policy of the East India Company and after exposing the flaw in their objection that trade with India involved a drain of specie from Britain, he goes on to observe "But the flooding of the English market with Indian cotton goods and silks was almost destroying English manufacture, impoverishing the manufacturers and causing serious unemployment among the artisans." Summing up the position, he quotes this statement by Marx "Thus during the greater part of the eighteenth century, Indian manufactures were imported into England in order to be sold on the continent, and to remain excluded from the English market itself." This aspect of the situation has never been sufficiently stressed by historians.

Equally striking in its originality is Mr. Hutchinson's account of how the East India Company first turned its attention to Bengal. According to him, this move was an indirect result of the Great Famine of 1630. Gujerat textile industry was ruined by the famine which had killed off most of the Gujerat weavers. "But an all-wise providence turns even the misfortunes of the English to their advantage. Unable for the time being to exploit Gujerat industry, they were forced to look for opportunities elsewhere; and they found Bengal. Bengal had suffered less than other provinces from famine, and the textile industry there offered an alternative source of supyly to the English merchants, the high prices of rice, ghee, sugar and other necessities being an additional attraction."

A little-known but sigificant aspect of the Company's rule in India is brought out by Mr. Hutchinson when he contrasts the wealth and the luxurious mode of life of the Company's European factors with the dire poverty of the Indian workmen employed by the Company. In this connection, he quotes a contemporary account which can scarcely be improved upon for its grim realism. "The best of the Gentoo workmen scarcely gains more than a penny a day, and yet this is sufficient to maintain not only the man, but his wife and children. Rice boiled in water, which is very cheap, is almost their only food. Unleavened cakes, baked in the ashes, are their only bread, and that they seldom eat."

The author dwells on the condition of the peasantry in territories governed by the Company, and paints a particularly lurid picture of the steady deterioration of the Bengal peasantry during what orthodox his-

torians have agreed in describing as the darkest period in the history of British rule in India, *i.e.*, the period immediately following Plassey. "Never had the people known such oppression and exploitation; the horrors of past invasions and civil wars had been limited and temporary; but the Nabobs introduced a cold and steady form of exploitation which drained the life blood from the land, as relentlessly as a famine of long duration. Robbed of the produce of their labour, crushed under heavy taxes which they were for the most part unable to pay, evicted from their lands, wasted with hunger, the people sank deeper into misery."

Mr. Lester Hutchinson's version of the historic quarrel between Warren Hastings and Philip Francis is particularly interesting. At first sight, this antagonism appears to be nothing more than a conflict of personalities, although it had the most far-reaching effects. In the author's words "Historians have represented the long quarrel between Francis and Hastings as the result of personal antagonisms between the two men: they suggest that Francis wished to drive Hastings out of office in order to succeed him." But our historian thinks he can find a more fundamental explanation for this personal conflict than any so far offered. "That there was a bitter personal hatred between the two men cannot be doubted" he says, "but that hatred arose only because they were serving different masters who were at cross purposes." Mr. Hutchinson supports his statement with a letter written by Francis to a friend in which he describes what he considers to be the rôle of Hasting's opponents in the Council. "We three should undoubtedly consider ourselves as the Representatives of Government deputed to act generally for the Nation; in contradistinction to Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwell, who may be supposed to act for the Company, though in fact they are the greatest enemies of that Interest." The historian concludes "Viewed objectively the quarrel between Hastings and Francis was in reality one between the Company and the Government. It was the task of Francis to obstruct the administration in India and to provide ammunition to the Company's enemies in London to enable them to batter down its monopoly of the East Indian trade."

We may pause here to observe that the above account of an important historical phenomenon is typically Marxist both in its insight and in its deficiencies. The personal antagonism between the two men is shown to be a reflection of a fundamental antagonism between two interests. But the explanation suffers from the neglect of the purely personal equation which alone can account for the astonishing fierceness of the quarrel.

Orthodox historians have been unanimous in acclaiming Pitt's India Act of 1784 as a wise and beneficient measure which mitigated the evils

of the East India Company's rule by bringing the Company under the practical control of the King's Ministers. Mr. Hutchinson, however, gives us a different version. He sums up the substance and significance of the measure in these words. "The Company was to have the shadow and the Government the substance of power. And it was not without significance that provision was made for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to sit on Board of Control: the wealth of India was in future to be used not only to enrich the Nabobs, but also to balance the National Budget." But whatever the motive behind the passing of this measure, no impartial historian can deny that it brought about a definite improvement in the administration of the country. Mr. Hutchinson proceeds to make the following statement. "Pitt's India Act marked the end of one and the beginning of another phase of the British Conquest of India. The Company had now become the instrument of national policy; and the policy of British capitalism was definitely aggressive. Stimulated by the loss of the American colonies and by the need for an empire to replace them the British Government concentrated its attention on India and made clear its resolve to conquer as much of it as circumstances permitted. India it was felt would be more than ample compensation for the loss of America." Now to say that through this Act the British Government "made clear its resolve to conquer as much of it (India) as circumstances permitted" is a complete perversion of facts. The Act explicitly discountenanced all schemes of conquest and extension of territory. We cannot understand how Mr. Hutchinson could have overlooked this important provision, in black and white, on the statute book. He argues that the loss of the American colonies stimulated the British Government to a more vigorous policy of aggression and conquest in India. But the immediate effect of this disaster on the British ruling class was rather to create the feeling that further imperial expansion was futile, as the colonies were bound to throw off their allegiance to their mother country the moment they attained political maturity, just as ripe fruit dropped away from their parent tree.

An outstanding section of the "Empire of the Nabobs" is the one describing the relationship between Britain and India on the eve of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 which Mr. Hutchinson rather misleadingly terms the "Great Rebellion." A sharp distinction is drawn between "the policy which led to the conquest of India and the policy pursued after the conquest had been consummated." The policy pursued during the first period is thus described. "During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while the conquest of India was in process, English capitalism had as its main object imports from India to Europe and not exports from

England to India. The Indian textile industry, based on the handloom and the spinning wheel, produced textures far superior to those produced in Europe; therefore to export English textiles to India would have been as profitable to English capitalism as it would now be to take coals to Newcastle." During the second period, "the Industrial Revolution altered the basis of British Imperialism in India. There was no longer a demand for Indian manufactured goods: with the new machines producing rapidly and cheaply by far a larger supply of textile goods than the home market in the existing conditions could possibly absorb, British industrial capitalism demanded large external markets. The desires of British capitalism became concentrated in the doctrine of Free Trade—Most of the European countries replied to the British proposals of Free Trade by increasing their tariff barriers against British goods. But India, over which the British were economically and politically predominant, had no such remedy, and was destined to be a victim." This is undeniably a brilliant analysis of British Indian relations during the period under consideration. It is easy to see that Mr. Hutchinson, like Marxists in general, is at his best when dealing with broad phases of history.

Mr. Hutchinson goes on to state that British Imperialism at this stage, had fulfilled its historical mission in India. The "mission" that he refers to has nothing to do with the White man's Burden. In Marxist theory, every class has its historical mission. Once a class has fulfilled its mission, there is no further justification for its existence and historical forces will bring about its decline and final destruction. The mission that Britsh Imperialism had accomplished is described as follows: "Firstly by divorsing industry from agriculture, and secondly by destroying cottage industry altogether, feudal economy was uprooted. The English Conquest of India had the effect of a social revolution, of the same type that had taken place in England two centuries previously." Social revolutions depend largely on external forces, and in the case of India, Britain was the external force chosen by history to shatter feudalism and to bring India into line with modern progress."

Our historian refuses to believe that Britain has at any time adopted a liberal and enlightened policy towards India. At one point in his narrative, Mr. Hutchinson naively warns his readers "It is essential for the student to realise that all the benefits brought to India by the British were brought not for the good of the Indians, but to facilitate the exploitation of the country and its people by British capitalism. Roads, railways, and telegraphs were made for military purposes and for purposes of profit; without railways British capitalism could neither flood the country with its manufactured goods nor obtain inexpensively the raw materials which its

industry required. And as for irrigation, the great engineering works on the rivers were only undertaken after British capitalism had realised that if they wished the Indian peasants to buy their goods it was first necessary to keep them alive." We are not told why this grossly prejudiced approach is essential to a correct understanding of British-Indian relations. It is not suggested here that the British undertook these schemes out of pure benevolence. But has Mr. Hutchinson never heard of such a thing as "enlightened self-interest" a policy which blesseth him that gives and him that receives ?

Particularly specious is the author's "exposure" of Bentinck's reforms which are a stumbling block to those who wish to believe that the British connection has been an unmitigated evil for India. Here it is. "As the time approached for the renewal of the Charter, the Company felt themselves obliged to show something on the credit side of their administration, and in consequence, the Governor-General, Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck, was instructed by the Directors to effect certain social and administrative reforms which would have the dual purpose of establishing sympathy for the company in England and of suppressing dangerous sects and customs." The statement is too obviously biassed to merit serious consideration.

With a Mutiny itself, our historian has no sympathy. "Historically considered" he observes, "it was a revolt against nationalism and against modernity: it was an attempt to turn the clock of history back to feudal isolation and to feudal tyranny, to the handloom and the spinning wheel, and to primitive methods of transport and communication. The Great Rebellion was therefore bound to fail. Although the mass of the outraged people was behind the rebels, history was behind the British." It may be noted here that this generalization is a good example of those "tendencies which work out with an iron necessity towards an inevitable goal" characteristic of Marxist theory.

For Mr. Hutchinson, the Mutiny marks a far greater break in historical development than it does for the orthodox historian. Concluding the first part of his book he says "The Great Rebellion marks the end of the epoch in which British Imperialism was a progressive revolutionary force in India, and the beginning of another in which the forces of progress are behind the Indian people in their long struggle against a reactionary imperialism, already condemned by history."

The second part of the "Empire of the Nabobs" opens with an analysis of the new phase of imperialism that had begun after 1857. The author argues that this stage exactly corresponds to the one referred to in Lenin's classic definition of Imperialism. "Imperialism is capital-

ism in that stage of development in which the domination of monopolies and finance capital has established itself, in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance....." Mr. Hutchinson proceeds to illustrate his thesis by describing the growth of British capital investment in India. "The construction of the railways did not end the export of British capital; it continued to be invested in canal construction, in irrigation, in tea and coffee plantations, in mining, in merchant firms and banking and in the textile industry. Loans to the Indian Government vastly increased the National Debt."

But the wheels of capitalism do not always move smoothly. An essential part of Marxist doctrine is the theory that the working of modern capitalism results in the development of internal contradictions which ultimately leads to the breakdown of the capitalist machine. Mr. Hutchinson instances the working of the managing agency system in India as resulting in such contradictions. "A network of managing agencies spread from the jute and cotton industries to the coal, iron, and steel industries, organizing and developing for the immediate profit of British investors what was to become serious industrial competition with British capitalism on the Indian market." The ultimate outcome of this capitalist short-sightedness is thus described. "The British conquest had created a bourgeois, which was now no longer content to act as the middlemen of British imperialism, but was determined to build up a competitive industry. For the first time the interests of Indian capitalism and British capitalism began to conflict." Nor did the process end here. A new class entered the Indian scene at this stage. "British imperialism created an Indian bourgeois. The Indian bourgeois created an Indian industrial working class."

The concluding chapters of the "Empire of the Nabobs" dealing with the British Indian history in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries are very disappointing indeed. Mr. Hutchinson ceases to be a historian and assumes the rôle of an ordinary Leftist pamphleteer. He contents himself with recording just those events which support his thesis. He traces the growing antagonism between British and Indian capitalism—an antagonism only temporarily softened by the prosperity of Indian industries during the war of 1914-18. The Indian National Congress, originally the organ of Indian capitalism is shown to be increasingly influenced by the Indian peasantry and the Indian industrial working class. Our historian has little admiration for Mahatma Gandhi whom he depicts as a "bourgeois" leader cunningly side-tracking the militant mass movement into safe and ineffective channels. The Mahatma's tendency to select minor issues on which to stage a fight with the British

Government is described by Mr. Hutchinson as an attempt to fritter away the energies of the Indian people. Non-violence is an expedient devised for the same end. It is the habit of socialists to acknowledge the greatness of Mahatma Gandhi, and the value of his leadership, while pointing out the inadequacy of his programme. We look in vain for any such acknowledgement on Mr. Hutchinson's part.

For the most recent period in British Indian History, Mr. Hutchinson seems to depend almost entirely on Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru's 'Autobiography not only for his facts, but for the general interpretation of events ! He quotes frequently from that admirable but highly partisan work.

A survey of the book as a whole reveals the great value as well as the inadequacy of the economic interpretation of history. The method is of value because it often yields a more fundamental and satisfying explanation of historical phenomena than we can hope to derive from the traditional approach to history. Nevertheless the doctrine of economic determinism is inadequate because historical events can be highly complex, and are rarely subject to any such simple explanation as this system presupposes. More particularly, no account of British Indian history can be regarded as even tolerably impartial which ignores the genuine liberal strain that runs through the whole history of British rule in India, mitigating an otherwise grim story of imperialist exploitation. A historian who ignores this element in British policy is not simply cynical, but unscientific and superficial.

TRANSLATIONS FROM RAMPROSAD

III*

THE COSMIC ADVENT

LOTIKA GHOSE

Oh! Mother, wilt thou dance thy fill,
With floating hair, naked still,
Standing on thy partner's breast,
Warring ever without rest.

A garland of skulls round thy neck,
Crimson stained, still doth deck,
Corpse pale hands encircle round,
Thy slim waist a girdle bound.

Curvéd lips ruby red,
Ivory teeth polished,
Lotus face ever smiling,
Mystic sweet, our thoughts beguiling.

Cloud like beauty, azure hued,
Fiery flaming, crimson dewed,
The poet's heart still doth dance,
As spell-bound at thee he doth glance.

* মা কত নাচ গো রণে,
নিরুপম বেশ বিগলিত কেশ!

THE POET'S QUEST

CYRIL MODAK

Yes, the *Shraan* Moon is waning fast,
And my hair is turning gray,
And the festival of youth is past,
Hope has changed its garments gay.

All the flowers are fallen from the trees,
Lo ! the garden's all but bare ;
There's no hint of perfume on the breeze
Saying, " She comes, your Love, your Fair !"

Yet my soul will take no hermit vows,
Nor renounce the poet's quest :
For the lovliness of crescent-brows,
Star-kiss'd eyes and dawn-drench'd breast.

All the hunger of a lifetime still
Throbs within my head to make
Out of joy and pain a song to thrill
Love's lone heart that else might break.

Out of deeds and words and melodies,
And the colours of the Spring,
Make a deathless Beauty that will tease
Death to stand admiring !

ORGANIZATION OF THE FIGHTING FORCES IN THE PRE-MUGHAL SULTANATE

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OUR knowledge of the detailed organization of the military forces of the Sultanate period, as distinct from the central ministry of the Army, the *Diwan-i-Arz*, is extremely inadequate to allow us to attempt a general reconstruction of the system. Incidental references to military affairs are all that we possess and the account that follows is necessarily tentative.

RECRUITMENT, PAY AND TRAINING

It is to be borne in mind that a large standing army, in the modern sense of the term, does not appear to have existed in the Delhi kingdom, at least before the reforms of Alauddin Khalji. The state in the Sultanate period was originally a decentralised system, the work of defence and civil administration being left largely to autonomous governors and chiefs. On this decentralised state successive rulers tried to build their autocracy which received its first complete shape in the absolutist monarchy of Alauddin. Until his reign, therefore, the maintenance of the army was largely the concern of the autonomous governors who were required to send a specified quota to fight the king's battles. It should not, however, be supposed that the king was entirely without a body of soldiers in his immediate and permanent employ. There is mention, in the 13th century chronicles, of a special corps of guards, called *Jandar*, whose primary duty appears to have been to guard the king's person and who usually took up the centre position in battles. This corps must have formed the nucleus of the standing army, which is sometimes referred to as the *Qalb-i-Sultani*. This force was directly under the management of the *Ariz-i-Mamalik* and was paid in cash as well as in assignments. It contained both cavalry and infantry sections and possibly included the large number of personal slaves which almost every Sultan used to collect. Whether these slaves formed part of the combatant personnel of the force is a question to which no satisfactory answer can be given. Like the *Dakhili* troops of the Mughals, part of them may have been employed as door-keepers, water-carriers, carpenters, artificers, etc.

In any case, this force could not have been large and, as has been remarked above, the bulk of the fighting had to be done by the provincial contingents. How this provincial force was recruited will perhaps never be known. It may, however be supposed that since the provincial governor was a replica of the king, his army would also consist of a standing force directly under his command and also of contingent supplied by his lieutenants to whom assignments were given. No case of any individual recruiting either by the king or by the governor (*Muqti*) has come to light in this period. Scattered references in the chronicles tend to suggest that the practice was to depend for recruitment on adventurer-troop-leaders and to enrol captains with their own troops. Like the *Diwan-i-Arz* at the centre the *Muqti* had his own army department and a *Naib-i-Arz* was stationed at the king's court to act as a liaison officer and present the provincial contingents.

Apart from these two classes, there appear to have been occasional recruitments, both by the king and by the *Muqti*. These special recruits consisted either of Muslims enrolled to fight the Mongols or of mercenary Hindu forces. They were disbanded immediately after the war.

There is also mention of a volunteer militia force, consisting chiefly of Muslims, who joined special campaigns for religious glory but really for plunder, and who bore their own arms and equipment and received no salary.

All these forces, with the exception of the volunteers, were paid in cash and assignment of revenue and also in the form of cultivable lands. This latter form of payment was confined to troops garrisoned in forts or turbulent areas who were expected to till the soil and draw their subsistence out of the agricultural produce. From the nature of the conditions involved in such form of payment these men were supposedly borne on the army roll as hereditary soldiers. Out of his pay (*Mawajib*), the cavalryman had to provide for his own equipment and horse and keep the latter in good trim. Approval of his horse and accoutrements was necessary before he could draw his pay. Besides his allowance which, in cases of cash payment, was disbursed through his commander, each trooper received a share of the booty captured in battles.

The system of payment by assignments of revenue to individual troopers, called *Iqtadars*, opened the way for abuse. Early in the reign of Balban a scandalous state of affairs was brought to light. About 2,000 *Iqtadars* forming part of the cavalry section of the royal force, who had been given villages in the Doab as their pay by Iltutmish were found to have either died or become totally unfit for active service. They were, nevertheless, still being carried on the army list and were being represent-

ed by their heirs and nominees, mostly women, children and slaves, who were incapable of fighting and who were yet in possession of the villages. A resumption of their *iqta* was ordered but the old men pursuaded Balban to rescind the order and to allow them to enjoy these assignments as pensions. A more serious abuse was the misrepresentation of the troopers paid in cash, one horse being passed off by different troopers as their own. Frequent complaints were also heard of the commanders misappropriating or deducting part of the pay of their troops. The fact that Balban's *Ariz* emphatically refused to allow a farthing to be taken out of the soldiers' pay by the staff of his *Diwan* presupposes the existence of this practice also. The system of graft in the army ministry was another abuse, the soldier being almost invariably required to offer some bribe to the clerks to have his horse and equipment passed for payment. Troop-leaders often defrauded the army ministry by presenting false muster of their contingents and by substituting hired men for regular soldiers whose salaries they themselves pocketed. Such abuses seem to have persisted throughout the Sultanate period inspite of the vigilance on the part of the rulers like Balban or Ghiyasuddin Tughluq and the sweeping reforms of Alauddin or Sher Shah.

There is little evidence of any elaborate system of training in peace-time. Reviews and parades were occasionally held by the king or the war-minister but these were more for show and at best for inspecting their equipment than to improve their fighting qualities or to train them in combined action. Frequent hunting excursions made up to some extent the want of regular military training, but there was, before Alauddin's reign, no cantonment system, although garrisons in important places were in some cases quartered separately under military officers.

Khalji's Reforms and After

As in other branches of government, so also in military affairs, the contributions of the unlettered tyrant, Alauddin Khalji, stand out pre-eminently. The needs of an ambitious militarist empire and the recurrence of Mongol attacks led to a revolutionary change in the military system and to the creation of a fully equipped, permament standing army directly at the king's command. The practice of depending on the provincial contingents was found to be not only inadequate but highly risky. This conviction was forced on him by the situation created by the Mongols in 1304 when they closed all access to Delhi. After careful deliberation and enquiry into its financial aspects which led to the famous price-controlling regulations, he overhauled the entire military establishment

of his empire and built up an efficient fighting force that carried everything before it within ten years of its birth.

Two special features distinguished the new *Wehrmacht*; direct recruitment and regular individual cash payment. The small standing force at his disposal was augmented by recruiting about 4 million horsemen. Each recruit was individually examined by the Army minister's department as to his equipment, horse and proficiency in handling arms. On enrolment he was paid the full price for his horse which henceforth became state property. Although he was still required to provide for its upkeep out of his own pay, he was relieved from his anxiety to save the horse at any cost, even at the cost of the battle, for his job in the army depended on his ability to present a well-groomed horse. To prevent misrepresentation of the horses at the time of review, a system of branding them with distinguishing marks was introduced and rigorously enforced. The pay of a fully equipped cavalryman with one horse was fixed at 234 and that of a two-horsed man at 312 *Tankas* per annum. The earlier practice of paying the soldiers in forms other than cash was abolished. Every soldier was to receive his salary regularly in cash every month directly from the Army Pay Office. The army thus raised was stationed in specially built military cantonments outside the city under military discipline and in constant training and exercise. This huge army was presumably maintained over and above the provincial troops, over whose organization and maintenance also, the state had, incidentally, begun to exercise a fairly large amount of control.

The maintenance of such a vast army undoubtedly meant a colossal drain on the financial resources of the state, for, inspite of the cheapness of living brought about by his agrarian and market regulations, his army estimates must have been staggering. It may not, however, be wrong to suppose that it was raised for the period of war emergency which, as we know, because of the Mongol invasions and the programme of military expansion he followed, lasted nearly the whole of his reign. There is no direct evidence on the point whether this new army or at least a part of it, was disbanded when he had reached the final point of his programme, *i.e.*, 1314, but we have it on the authority of a contemporary foreign account that the standing army of Muhammud b. Tughluq numbered nine *lakhs* only. ✓ Even Muhammud's reign was also a period of incessant military activity which perhaps accounts for the reduction of the cavalry section of the standing army to 90 thousand only in the reign of Firoz Tughluq. It is difficult to say if this was approximately the military strength of the Delhi kingdom in the latter half of the 14th century. If it was, it provides the clearest explanation of the utter impotence

of the king which characterised the last quarter of the century. The military collapse of the kingdom on the approach of Timur in 1399 needed no other cause.

Almost immediately after Alauddin's death, a tendency became apparent of returning to the earlier system of feudal contingents and payment by assignments of revenue. Many of his regulations fell into disuse and corruption set in the army ministry. Although they were confirmed in their entirety by the regent, Malik Kafur, Qutbuddin Mubarak abolished them wholesale. Whether this meant a complete decentralization of the army is not clear but that cash payment was not totally discontinued is evident from the usurper, Khusrau Malik paying at least part of his central army advance salaries on the eve of his battle with Ghazi Malik. Ghiyasuddin Tughluq revived some of Alauddin's regulations, notably the descriptive roll (*Huliah*), branding and payment of full price for the recruit's horse (*dagh* and *qimat-i-asp*). His anxiety to see that no deduction was made from the trooper's pay by the *Amirs* suggests that payment through troop-leaders was again coming into vogue. He never tired of exhorting his provincial governors (*Muqti*) to look after the army entrusted to their care and threatened them with severe punishment for any misappropriation of the soldier's pay. He fixed the numerical strength, and rate of pay of the provincial troops and is said to have disbursed cash salaries to the army during the whole of his reign. He is reported to have paid special attention to increasing his army whom he regarded as the wherewithal of government, and maintained a large well-equipped force, officered by experienced men who also received their pay in cash.

Although the fighting forces in the province continued to be treated as a part of the king's standing army and paid from the king's revenues, yet for all practical purposes it soon became a feudal contingent. The abandonment of individual payment of the provincial troops mentioned above was perhaps accompanied by the discontinuance of individual recruitment. The king, in any case, lost touch with the individual trooper; the *dagh* regulation were, in fact, meant to be a check on the commanders presenting the soldiers and drawing their pay. While the troopers in the standing army as distinct from the provincial troops, continued to receive their pay in cash, assignments appear to have been substituted in the case of army officers down to the *Amir* in the reign of Muhammud b. Tughluq. A contemporary Arabic account of India, while giving details of the salaries of the army men (a *Khan* received two lak *tankas*, a *Malik*, fifty to sixty thousand, an *Amir* forty thousand, a *Sipah-salar* twenty thousand, a cavalry man 500 *tankas*) states that the officers received assignments of revenue.

The next step was to pay the regular soldiers (*Wajhi*) also by assignments and villages, which is mentioned as one of the 'wise' measures of Firoz Tughluq; only the irregular soldiers and temporary recruits continued to receive cash payment. He even encouraged the practice of the army man, trooper as well as officer, being succeed in the assignments and also in the army roll, by his minor son, son-in-law, slave and even wife. The system of branding the horses was probably the only measure of Alauddin that was retained but the general laxity of administration and corruption which Firoz himself encouraged, must have defeated its purpose. Mention has been made of the numerical strength of the cavalry (*Sawar*) section of his army; this force was of course supplemented by the irregulars and salves (*bandegan*), but from what we know of the notorious inefficiency of the army, its striking power could not have been proportionate to its number. An important change effected in his reign related to the emoluments of the soldier. Of the booty captured in battle, the soldier previously used to get 1/5, the rest being appropriated by the state. In his anxiety to follow the law strictly, Firoz now restored to the soldier his legitimate share, *viz.*, 4/5, to be equally distributed among the participants. How far this meant a reduction in the soldier's salary, if any, cannot, however, be ascertained.

The military organization at the end of the 14th century thus resembled very closely the conditions existing before Alauddin's reforms. The army was composed of a motley rabble of men, the majority of whom were supplied by the semi autonomous assignees and governors, professing only a distant loyalty to the king. If the Delhi forces fought bravely against Timur, it was not because of the Central government's efficient administration. It was the Khalji and Tughluq tradition of efficiency and discipline still lingering in the decentralised army that gave him some anxious moments.

The succeeding Syed and Lodi dynasties appear to have made no attempts at extending central control over the fighting forces. The latter, on the contrary, confirmed, in effect, the decentralization, by their adherence to a feudal form of government consisting of autonomous units under Afgan nobles. The king as the leading noble must also have had a contingent of his own but there is little information as to its recruitment and organization.

Sher Shah's reforms restored Alauddin's system but not in its entirety. A fundamental difference with the latter was Sher Shah's retention of the earlier practice of assignment system, now called *Jagir*, that is, recruiting a part at least of the army through nobles who were given *jagirs* for the purpose. The force so recruited and maintained did,

of course, form part of the king's standing army and was so treated, but the practice of individual payment to each trooper could not, in this arrangement, be continued. The effect of this method, however, could not be so harmful as formerly, for apart from the king's vigilance exercised over his nobles, the practice of frequent transfer of the *Jagirdars* kept the central government in touch with the soldiery.

This feature apart, his reforms resembled very closely the spirit of Alauddin's system. Control and supervision were centralised in his hands. The central army was recruited personally by him and paid individually in cash. The practice of branding the horses which appears to have been given up in the Lodi period, was revived. The *huliyah*, to which Sikandar Lodi applied the term *Chihra*, was applied rigorously to prevent any possibility of mis-representation. The rate of pay, which is stated to have been fixed by the king personally, is not known, nor is it certain if the trooper maintained by the *jagirdar* received his pay invariably in cash. The personal vigilance exercised by him prevented the *jagirdar* from misappropriating the soldier's pay, but the system obviovsly could not preclude such a possibility. Part of the army which, along with those maintained by the *jagirdars*, numbered about three lakh horsemen and one lakh infantry besides artillery and elephants, was stationed in important fortresses and towns. Garrisons were frequently transferred and, invariably at the end of a campaign the tired troops were detailed to garrison duty.

Staff Work, Regimentation and Control

Since the king was expected to lead his forces personally in every campaign, there never was, throughout the Muslim rule in India, a permanent commander-in-chief for the fighting forces of the realm. Only once, in the reign of Raziah, mention is made of the appointment of a *Naib-i-Lashkar*, to whom the queen delegated her military duties; but even this was only for a specific purpose. In times of war, the command was either assumed by the king himself or could be entrusted to any officer, not necessarily belonging to the "men of the sword (*ahl-i-saif*). The provincial contingents generally fought under the banners of their respective chiefs (*muqti* or *jagirdar*), but under the general direction of the commander-in-chief who, presumably, had the central standing army directly under him. Generally speaking, the contingents supplied by the assignees were more loyal to their immediate commanders than to the king's officer.

Since there was no permanent chief of staff in peace time, the ordinary administrative work of the army namely, promotion, leave,

transfer, etc., fell on the army ministry (*Diwan-i-Arz*), acting under the close supervision of the king or the *muqti* or *jagirdar*. Our knowledge regarding the regulations in force under these headings is, however, absolutely nil. During campaigns a deputy of the army minister accompanied the army to perform the administrative work and look after provisions, transport and the collection and distribution of the spoils.

It is difficult to say if a well-defined graded system of promotion was in existence, but there are instances of common troopers eventually becoming commanders and governors. As there was no sharp distinction between the civil and military services in the state a common trooper or a slave might rise to be a governor, general or a wazir. The career of Ghazi Malik may perhaps be taken as a type. He entered service as an infantry man (*Piyada* or *Payik*) and was gradually promoted to the cavalry, then to the rank of *Amir* and *Malik*, and finally to *Khan*. A great deal depended on the king's pleasure, and favouritism was sometimes carried to dangerous extremes. Rewards in cash and kind were occasionally distributed among the troops and the share of the spoils was probably considered a war-bonus.

The question of promotion is closely related to that of gradation of officers and also to the division of the army into regiments. In the early chronicles no mention is ever found of any officer class of the army as distinct from *Khan*, *Malik*, *Amir*, and *Sipahsalar*, which titles are consistently graded in this order. Casual references and incidents recorded in the 13th and 14th century chronicles tend to suggest that these titles represented a well-defined hierarchy of rank in Turkish society. That they also implied army command, at least in theory, is the conclusion suggested by some of the statements made in the contemporary chronicles. The *Masalik-al-Absar* mentions the number of troops under the command of each of these title-holders revealing the existence of a graded division. Recorded instances of promotion in the 13th and 14th centuries also point to the same conclusion. Along with these is also to be considered the statement of Abbas Sherwani that Sher Shah instituted the branding regulations in order to see that the "*Jagirdars* maintained their troops according to their rank and made no variation in them."

The *Masalik-al-Absar* states that in the reign of Muhammud b. Tughluq, a *Khan* had ten thousand horse in his command, the *Malik* one thousand, the *Amir* a hundred, and the *Sipahsalar* a smaller number and their pay and allowances, fixed in cash but paid in assignments, were also graded in this order. It is possible that the figures given here are a little exaggerated or inaccurate but that the titles did have some relationship with a graded military command seems to be a reasonable

inference. That their allowances, granted as we know for military service and supplying troops, had some relation to their rank is also suggested by Afif's statement that Firoz made grants of revenue to the different office-bearers according to their respective ranks.

During the Pathan supremacy in the 15th and early 16th century when the title of *Khan* had lost its official and military significance and when the lesser titles of *Malik, Amir* and *Sipahsalar* had gone out of use, some new gradation may have come into vogue with new terminologies. In the Lodi period as we know from Sher Shah's reference to the system when he overhauled it, the number of troops the *Jagirdar* was obliged to maintain and command varied according to his rank, which may have been determined by the size of his *jagir*. This rank or place in the hierarchy now begins to be known as *mansab*, and *mansabdars* of between 5000 to 2000 are mentioned frequently throughout the Sur period. Full details of the *mansab* or *mansabdari* system, which is only another name for the gradation of army officers, are wanting for the Lodi and Sur period, but to the extent that it implied rank in the military hierarchy expressed by the number of troops under the *mansabdar's* command and which he was obliged to maintain and supply in consideration for certain recurring allowances in the form of assignment, it seems to be a continuation of an earlier, though less elaborated system. In view of these facts the theory that the *mansabdari* system was an innovation of Akbar or Sher Shah, there having been nothing corresponding to it in the earlier period, should be discarded.

As for the division of the army into regiments the simplest and the commonest method was to do it on a decimal scale. Bughra Khan's advice to his son Kaiqubad mentions the prevalent forms of military arrangement, the smallest unit being that of ten horsemen under a *sar-i-Khail*. The organization based on multiples of ten as described by him fits exactly with what we know of Muhammud b. Tughluq's army. The *Subh-al-A'sha*, copying possibly from the *Masalik-al-Absar*, describes the Tughluq army in identically decimal groupings. Technical names for such divisions or groups are not mentioned but they were possibly known by the rank of their commanders; such terms as *Amiran-i-sada, hazara*, etc., are found in the 14th century chronicles. A regiment called *Tuman* is occasionally mentioned, but this was a copy of Mongol military division and does not appear to have taken root in India. Even the *Hazara* as a term for a regiment although it survived in the Mughal period, did not always connote a regular military division with a fixed number of soldiers.

Branches of Fighting Service

The Turk being a horseman *par excellence*, the cavalry was his most important fighting weapon. A swift cavalry charge in massed formation was his most favoured tactics and so among the fighting services the cavalry occupied the highest rank. It was classified according to the number of horses possessed by each cavalry man, the pay of a two-horsed man was higher than that of a one-horsed trooper. Among the reforms of Alauddin was the practice of buying up the horse with its accoutrements from the newly recruited soldier which, however, had to be maintained in good condition. The king maintained breeding centres and stables well-supplied by animals imported from abroad, and looked after by the master of stables known as the *Akhur-bek*, an officer attached to the Household department. Animals lost in battle, by theft or disease, were replaced by the state free of cost thus relieving the soldier from his responsibility to save his mount at any cost. It does not appear that this sound practice was continued by his successors.

Because of their exclusive reliance on the cavalry the Turks could never build up a powerful infantry force. During the early years of the Sultanate fighting was done almost exclusively by the mounted soldier, and the footman was employed, if at all, in guarding the camps, baggages and perhaps in garrisoning the occupied forts. North Indian soil being suitable for extensive and rapid movement of the horse with which both the Hindu and Muslim were most familiar, the foot man as a combatant was a disadvantage and so was not employed regularly. It is only in the eastern provinces of Bengal and Bihar that mention is made of the employment of foot soldiers in actual fighting which had to be done mostly on terrains on which cavalry movement is difficult. Like the horseman in the north, the foot soldier, called *Payik* or *Piyada*, was the main fighting agent in the east and both the Turkish and Afgan invaders had occasion to realise, at their cost, the formidable combative potentiality of the foot soldier when fighting on his own ground. Inspite of this, the rulers of Delhi never appear to have recognised the infantry as capable of being raised to a position equal to that of the cavalry. The Turk's contempt for a soldier without a mount was proverbial. At any rate the infantry ever remained neglected and occupied the lowest position in the fighting services and was never popular. An infantry man was the most ill-paid of soldiers and was looked down upon. The only section of the infantry that was regularly used for combative work was the body of archers, and later, after the introduction of gun-powder, the matchlockmen. During siege-operations

the infantry was usefully employed as diggers, scouts, mine-layers, flame-throwers, catapult-workers and for scaling the walls and storming the forts. The majority of them was employed as porters, guards, etc., and it is in this capacity that the *Payiks* took part in some of the palace revolutions in the 14th century. As a hard fighter the Bengali *Payik* attained fame and was greatly sought after. For a few years early in the 15th century the *Purabi* (Eastern) soldiers dominated the political scene in Delhi.

The nucleus of the artillery, before the introduction of gun-powder, was formed by the flame-throwers, mine layers and catapult-workers of the infantry. Some kind of firearms, like rockets, and granades (huqqa) appear to have been in use early in the 14th century and Timur's army was confronted with a display of such fireworkers which, however, proved more irritating than lethal. It is difficult to date the introduction of gun in India but that its use must have been known in the 14th century is proved by the account of the Chinese traveller, Ma-huan, who witnessed the manufacture and sale of guns and gun-powder in Bengal in the year 1406. In the 15th century it was extensively used in the Deccan and Gujrat, and also in Vijaynagara. In North India, however, its use became general only with the coming of the Mughals. With cannons and matchlocks in general use, the *banduqchi* and *topchi* became separate sections although still continuing to form part of the infantry.

The use of elephants for fighting purposes appears to have been inspired by Indian mode of warfare. Arabs, Persians and Turks, all were fascinated by the huge beast which was highly prized for its spectacular, more than its combative value. For frightening the horses the elephant was most useful. It could also be used to carry armed infantry-men and archers who from their high castle-like seats could discharge arrows and firearms while the animal could be driven to break the enemy formation. But the elephant was soon found to be a weapon of doubtful utility. Horses got used to it; a well-discharged arrow and latterly, a musket fire aimed at the animal was enough to send it back crashing though its own infantry line; the cannon finally rendered it practically useless in battles. It never lost its value, however, as a transport animal, to carry heavy artillery pieces and baggage. For the display of pomp and power the elephant was an essential complement to the king's retinue and its possession was considered part of the exclusive prerogative of the king. Favoured individuals were sometimes specially permitted to own elephants and commanders usually fought from the back of elephants, the driver being almost invariably a Hindu and possibly a non-combatant. The elephant establishment was looked after by the superintendent

(*Shahna-i-Pilan*) who, like the master of stables, was an officer attached to the Household department. The animals appear to have been grouped into *Halqas*; the numerical strength of each group, however, is not known.

Except in Bengal and Assam rivercraft does not appear to have ever been employed for combative operations. A central department of shipping or admiralty (*Amir-i-Bahr*) is known to have existed at least from the 13th century and a fleet of boats may also have been maintained, but the boat was used more as a transport vessel than as a fighting weapon. The river flotilla was never strong or adequately maintained, for, more often than not, boats for river crossings or transport of troops and material had to be commandeered from local boatmen. It was only in the East Bengal, that the state appears to have maintained and used the flotilla regularly for transport and battles. But even here the boat was used for carrying soldiers and engaging the enemy at close quarters. No special class of marines or naval soldiers were ever employed. The infantrymen boarded the enemy vessels and engaged in hand to hand cambat, the boatman's part in the fighting consisting of sailing the vessel to the desired position and ramming the enemy craft. Occasionally he was employed in digging trenches and erecting mud walls round temporary encampments. Neither the Central Asian Turk, nor the Pathans from the mountainous Afghanistan could ever get used to boats and ships to which they devoted, at best, only irregular attention.

ENGLISH ADMINISTRATIVE LAW *

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UNDER the hypnotism of Dicey's emphasis upon the Rule of Law, the English people were oblivious for decades of the slow but steady growth of administrative law in their country. Dicey himself had persistently refused to recognise the fact until the fag-end of his productive career. It was only in 1915 that he contributed a short paper on Development of administrative law in England to a learned journal. He, of course, did not regard this development as yet inconsistent with his pet Rule of Law. But since he wrote this paper, the spell has been broken and an increasing attention has been paid to this development. Sir Cecil Thomas Carr who wrote in 1921 his book on Delegated Legislation has again drawn our attention to the subject by the six lectures which he delivered sometime ago at the Columbia University, New York, and which are embodied now by the Oxford University Press in a handy volume.

Administrative law in England includes laws relating to civil service recruitment and organisation, those governing the relations between the Central Government and the local authorities, and finally those Rules, Regulations and Orders which the administrative departments at Whitehall happen to frame under statutory authority and which are commonly classed as delegated legislation. Administrative Law further involves the performance of judicial or quasi-judicial duties either by administrative departments or by tribunals constituted by them. (It should not be confused with French *Droit Administratif* from which inspite of resemblance it still vitally differs. The latter makes it possible for French administrative officers to be immune from the jurisdiction of ordinary courts for anything done in their official capacity. But in England no such immunity is enjoyed by their compeers). In each of these aspects there has been considerable discussion in England during the last quarter of a century. It is not necessary on this occasion to refer either to the laws and regulations regarding civil service organisation and recruitment or to those governing the relations between the Central and Local Govern-

* Sir Cecil Thomas Carr, *Concerning English Administrative Law* (Oxford University Press, 1941). Price 10*s*. 6*d*.

ments. Delegated Legislation and performance of judicial or quasi-judicial duties by administrative departments and tribunals will be mainly considered in the following paragraphs:

Literature on the subject, it may be repeated, is large and varied. We may mention here only a few of the books and articles. In 1921 Cambridge University Press published a number of lectures on Delegated Legislation by the present author, Sir (then Mr.) Cecil Thomas Carr. In the years following Mr. H. J. Laski and Sir Josia Stamp discussed it rather elaborately in the Journal of Public Administration. In 1928 Mr. Robson's book on Justice and Administrative Law was published by Macmillan. Mr. Laski regarded the growth of administrative discretion in legislative matters as inevitable and pointed out that "the real problem is the creation of safeguards against its abuse." Mr. Robson was concerned in his work mostly with administrative justice and courts. He regarded their development as in the nature of things and he urged the British public on this account to devise properly organised administrative courts working under a simple, inexpensive but scientific procedure. But there were many men in the country who did not feel reconciled to the new developments. They were unwilling to bid good bye to the Rule of Law as they had understood it, without a protest.

One such votary of the old system was characteristically Lord Hewart, the Lord Chief Justice. It seems that new developments in his country had for long eluded notice even from his trained and observant eyes. As late as September, 1927, while addressing the American Bar Association at Buffalo, he almost gloated over the absence of *droit administratif* in England and emphasised that there "are no special tribunals for the trial of matters in which public departments or Ministers of State are concerned." He did not notice at the time that something akin to but less organised than French *droit administratif* was rapidly growing in his country. But the illusion did not last long. Barely a year had passed when he discovered that slowly and unobtrusively administrative law was being evolved much to the detriment of the Rule of Law. He became alarmed at the growth of what he soon described as the "New Despotism." Accordingly he sat down to write a book illustrating what he regarded as a pernicious growth on the otherwise healthy body of legal and constitutional organisation. His book was published by Ernest Benn in 1929. The ten chapters which make up this work are one continuous protest against the vesting of legislative and judicial powers in the Ministers and their departments. A protest coming from such a person as the Lord Chief Justice could not go unheeded. Viscount Sankey, the Lord Chancellor in the second

Labour Government, appointed in the same year a Committee on Ministers' Powers with the Earl of Donoughmore as Chairman and with Sir John Anderson, Sir Warren Fisher, Sir William Holdsworth, Sir Leslie Scott and Professor H. J. Laski among the members. After a year and a half Lord Donoughmore resigned from the Chairmanship and his place was taken by Sir Leslie Scott. The Committee submitted a unanimous Report in March 1932.

Before we proceed to consider some of the opinions submitted to the Committee and the recommendations which it made we should point out in a nutshell the reasons for the development of delegated legislation and the Ministers' judicial or quasi-judicial functions. In the first of the six lectures which Sir Cecil Thomas Carr delivered at the Columbia University and which have provided the occasion for the present discussion, we get the background of delegated legislation in England. In eighteen thirties and in the period immediately following, a gentleman famous in British Administrative history was at work. He was no other than Edwin Chadwick. An indefatigable worker and Benthamite in affiliation, he was in the forefront of many reforms as a result of which administrative centralization was effected to a great extent and powers and functions of the Government were considerably increased. The followers of Bentham were, it is true, great individualists. But paradoxical though it may appear, they also were responsible for the assumption of new responsibilities on the part of Government and for the increase of governmental powers which it involved. In any event long before socialist ideas were abroad and new doctrines of public control were preached, the ball of centralisation was set rolling. Particularly since the days of Disraeli under whose Prime Ministership new public health law was passed, the field of public control gradually expanded and that left to individual freedom and action was henceforward increasingly circumscribed. The tendency was in other words insistently towards a positive state.

As more and more responsibilities were undertaken by the Government, an increasing number of Acts had to be passed by the Parliament to tackle and discharge these responsibilities. These Acts were again not only large in number but complicated in character. Many of them were concerned with matters which were too technical and which only experts could satisfactorily deal with. In view of these facts, it is quite intelligible that the Parliament would not have sufficient time and skill at its disposal to pass the laws in all their details. What the Parliament would do was to lay down in the Acts the basic principles and leave to the Ministers or their departments the responsibility of filling in the

details by Rules, Regulations and Orders. So the civil servants working in the departments came by the opportunity of delegated legislation. If they exercised these powers under the proper supervision of the Parliament, there might not have been any protest. But in the absence of a more effective machinery, supervision on the part of the Parliament over a vast mass of delegated legislation was out of the question. Whether the Rules, Regulations and Orders issuing from the departments were in consonance with the statutes passed by the Parliament, it was not easy to discover. In fact it was almost impossible for the Parliament with its fixed time-table to detect any discrepancy. Besides, the Parliament has not been very much anxious to exercise its supervision in this field. In respect of some of the statutes it was laid down no doubt that the rules and regulations framed under them would go into force only if they were sanctioned by the Parliament. But in regard to other statutes there was no such condition. In some cases, it was provided that the regulations would go into effect, if they were not opposed by a resolution by the Houses of Parliament within a particular period. In other cases, it was simply laid down that the regulations would be placed on the table of either House for its information but they would be enforced at once. In still other cases, not only no sanction of the Parliament was required for the enforcement of the regulations but what is more the Ministers concerned (that is, their departments) were empowered even to modify the Act so as to make it more suitable for operation.

The Parliament is the sovereign body in Great Britain. Any statute that it may pass is binding upon the Courts. The latter cannot question it. But the regulations, to be so binding, must be framed under the authority of a statute. If they are to be valid, they must be covered by the provisions of a Parliamentary law. Consequently it is for the Courts to see if the Regulations follow any such statute and are consistent with its provisions. If they exceed such provisions and are inconsistent with them, they must be declared *ultra vires* by the Courts. But this jurisdiction of the Courts has been nullified in regard to some portions of delegated legislation in two ways. Some of the statutes have laid down in so many words that the regulations framed under them must be immune from the jurisdiction of the Courts. It would not be open to the latter to question their validity. Secondly, there are some statutes to which we have already made reference and which provide that the Ministers concerned will be entitled to amend and modify them on their own authority so as to adjust them to new circumstances and make them generally workable. The regulations framed under such statutes may be declared invalid in some cases by the Courts, on the ground that they do not exactly follow from the

provisions of the statute concerned. But the Courts can have only a fugitive satisfaction by such declaration. The Minister concerned may like too much the regulations which his department has framed to accept their invalidation at the hands of the judiciary. He would modify the statute so as to make its provisions cover the regulations.

We have discussed above the nature and character of delegated legislation and the circumstances under which it has been necessary to resort to it. We may proceed next to discuss how the departments in applying the statutes and the regulations made thereunder (delegated legislation) has to perform judicial or quasi-judicial functions. This exercise of judicial or quasi-judicial functions involves two heresies. The departments which are meant to be concerned with executive and administrative duties become responsible for legislation. This is violation number one of the doctrine of the Separation of Powers. But the departments commit this violation in good company. The British Cabinet which is the supreme executive of the country is not only a committee of the legislature but directs legislation by the Parliament. The departments then perform duties of a judicial character, which arise out of the application of the statutes and regulations, and thereby commit a second violation of the same principle which according to some still enshrines the supreme wisdom in respect of political organisation.

Administrative justice just referred to is in the first instance of two kinds in England—(*i*) that administered by the Minister himself (*i.e.*, the department) and (*ii*) that administered by a Ministerial Tribunal. The decisions made by the Minister again are of two kinds—(*i*) judicial, (*ii*) quasi-judicial. Now what is the distinction between judicial and quasi-judicial decisions ? A judicial decision presupposes an existing dispute between two or more parties and then involves the following requisites :

(*i*) The presentation of their case by the parties.

(*ii*) If the dispute is a question of fact, the ascertainment of the fact by means of evidence and argument.

(*iii*) If the dispute is a question of law, the submission of legal arguments by parties.

(*iv*) A decision which disposes of the whole matter by a finding upon the facts in dispute and an application of the law of the land to the facts so found, including where required a ruling upon any disputed question of law.

A quasi-judicial decision should be distinguished from the truly judicial decision by the fact that whereas the latter involves all the requisites referred to above, the former presupposes an existing dispute

between two or more parties no doubt but involves (*i*) and (*ii*) but does not necessarily involve (*iii*) and never involves (*iv*). The place of (*iv*) is taken in a quasi-judicial case by administrative action, the character of which is determined by the Minister's free choice.[1]

It has been found on enquiry that "the entrusting of Judicial decisions to Ministers themselves is rare in existing statutes."[2] But some of them certainly provide for such decisions by the Ministers. The Public Health Act, 1875, the Law of Property Act, 1922, the National Health Insurance Act, 1924, are examples of such statutes. Examples of quasi-judicial decisions are also found in the working of a number of Acts. Under Section 19 of the Education Act, 1921, for instance, it is the duty of the Board of Education to decide whether a school is necessary or not. Before coming to any decision it must consider the wishes of parents, the interest of secular education, etc. It is *quasi* because ultimately this decision involves a question of policy and not one of law.

The opponents of the new developments in regard to judicial decisions by the departments and by ministerial tribunals point out that such decisions do not really ensure justice. Evidences are not taken on oath, the report which an officer deputed for public enquiry submits is not published, the decision which is made as a rule by another officer is not issued in the form of a judgment and does not assign any reasons. It cannot be known if the decision follows from the results of the enquiry or not. The Minister in charge of the department is a politician and consequently the decision may be really coloured by political prejudice and determined by politicial exigencies. Lord Hewart in his book also points out the difference between the working of administrative law in Great Britain and that in France. In the latter country it is law proper, it provides a definite procedure and the courts which are to apply it have, inspite of defects, essential attributes of a judicial body. But in England the circumstances are otherwise.[3]

What is now the remedy ? There are some who would not only put rigid limitations upon the framing of regulations and orders by the departments but who would not allow any judicial decision to be made by a body other than a court of law. Judicial decision by an administrative officer or by an administrative tribunal is to them a contradiction in terms. In other words they would like to go back to the orthodox English system evolved after the Stuart experiment of administrative courts like that of the

[1] Report of the Committee on Minister's Powers, p. 73.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 88.
[3] The New Despotism, p. 45.

Star Chamber was abandoned. There are others, however, who believe that in a positive state into which England is being transformed it is impossible for the regular courts of law to cope with the growing number of cases with which they will be confronted, if the administrative officers and tribunals were to be deprived of the right to make judicial decisions. The procedure followed by the regular courts is also too complicated and expensive. In view of this it is not possible to go back upon administrative law and justice. But this does not mean that the present arrangements are perfect or even good. Mr. W. A. Robson for instance both in his book which has been referred to above and in his evidence before the Committee on Ministers' Powers advocated not only the frank acceptance of administrative courts but their organisation on better and more scientific basis.

But the Committee on Ministers' Powers observed that "such a regularised system of administrative Courts and administrative Law... would involve the abolition of both the supervisory and the appellate jurisdiction of the High Court in matters pertaining to administration." Besides, such courts and such law, as Mr. Robson advocates, would in the opinion of the Committee be "inconsistent with the sovereignty of the Parliament and the supremacy of the Law." "We, therefore, without hesitation advise against" the adoption of such a system. (p. 110) The Committee not only set in this way its face very emphatically against the organisation in Britain of a regularised system of administrative courts but it silenced also the hue and cry which had been raised by an influential section of the public against delegated legislation and executive justice. The former it regarded as inevitable and legitimate for certain purposes. But it regarded it as so legitimate only "within certain limits, and under certain safeguards." These limits and safeguards it carefully defined in the report. In regard to the latter also the Committee's verdict was re-assuring. "Our conclusion on the whole matter is that there is nothing radically wrong about the existing practice of Parliament in permitting the exercise of judicial and quasi-judicial powers by Ministers and of judicial power by Ministerial Tribunals..." But it appreciated that the practice was "capable of abuse" and that "certain safeguards are essential if the rule of law and the liberty of the subject are to be maintained." [1]

But what have become of the safeguards which the Committee proposed and the recomendations which it made in this regard ? Sir Cecil Thomas

[1] Recommendations of the Committee in regard to delegated legislation are given in pp. 64 to 70 and those in regard to judicial decision in pp. 115-18.

Carr has pointed out in his lectures (pp. 29, 55) that while some of the minor recommendations of the Committee "found their way to the statute book," "major matters are held over." But although the report submitted more than ten years ago still remains virtually shelved, the very fact that the Committee was appointed and made an elaborate inquest shook up the civil service and made it cautious in exercising both legislative and judicial powers. This is only an indirect gain. Meanwhile the country is passing through a period of war during which the people, threatened with the extinction of their national freedom, are not likely to take very seriously the threats to individual liberty and the rule of law which departmental legislation and executive justice may involve. Besides, the pressure of the war has further stimulated the growth of that collectivism with which the old system so popularised by Dicey is hardly consistent. Looking at the question from this standpoint, Sir Cecil is right in drawing our attention to those critics in England who think that "the inquest held by the Committee of Ministers' Powers was misconceived, and a great chance was lost to work out a new and logical theory of administrative law in sympathy with modern tendencies, and a new and standardised set of co-ordinated administrative tribunals."

Miscellany

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

THE BEVERIDGE PLAN OF SOCIAL SECURITY

The expansion of social insurance* for which Beveridge has issued a plan is indicated in the *Daily Express* (London) of December 2, 1942, in the following table :

WHAT IT DOES

Security Provision for Man and Wife and Two Children
(Present Contributory Classes)

	Present		Proposed in Plan for Social Security	
	Amount	Period and Conditions	Amount	Period and Conditions
Unemployment	38/- a week	26 weeks (followed by assistance on means test).	56/- a week	Unlimited in time, without means test. Subject to attendance at training centre if unemployment prolonged.
Disability (other than industrial)	18/- a week	26 weeks (followed by 10/6 a week in disablement. Additional benefit in some cases).	56/- a week	Unlimited in time, without means test at any time.
Old Age	£1 a week	Supplemented by Assistance Board according to needs.	£2 a week	On retirement, 2/- a week increase for each year of postponement. (Full rate only after transition period of 20 years. Assistance pensions on means test meanwhile.)
Widowhood	18s a week	——	£2 a week	Reduced by part of any earnings, 52s a week for first 13 weeks without reduction.
Maternity	£2	——	£4	——
Maternity (if wife gainfully occupied)	£2 additional	——	36/- a week for 13 weeks additional.	——
Funeral	Nil	——	£20	With smaller sums for children.

* For Beveridge's previous ideas, see B. K. Sarkar: *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics* (Calcutta, 1936), p. 394.

	Present		Proposed in Plan for Social Security	
	Amount	Period and Conditions	Amount	Period and Conditions
Industrial Disability	Half earnings up to maximum of 35/- a week (plus 8/- for the two children)	Subject to compounding for lump sums.	56/- a week for 13 weeks, followed by pension of two-thirds earnings up to maximum of 76/- a week, but not less than 56/-. No compounding for total disability.	——
Medical Treatment	General practitioner for man, with additional treatment benefits in some cases.	——	Comprehensive medical treatment including hospital, dental and ophthalmic, nursing and convalescent homes for whole family. Post-medical rehabilitation.	——

What It Costs

Expenditure	£ Million			
	1942	1945	1955	1965
Retirement pensions	94	126	190	300
Unemployment benefit	84	110	109	107
Disability benefit	43	72	83	86
Other insurance benefits	69	41	42	42
National assistance	15	44	38	30
Children's allowances	11	110	108	100
Cost of administration	20	24	24	23
Health services	79	170	170	170
Total ...	415	697	764	858

Income	£ Million			
	1942	1945	1955	1965
Contributions of insured persons	69	194	196	192
Employers' contributions	83	137	135	132
Interest on funds	15	15	15	15
Charges on Exchequer	265	351	418	519
Total ...	432	697	764	858

The most noticeable feature is to be found in the income schedule. The Government contributions rising from £265 m in 1942 to £519 m in 1965 imply,—in the perspective of the total income,—61·3% in 1942, 50·3% in 1945, 54·7% in 1955 and 60·4% in 1965.

The new category, "social security," is American, the old category, "social insurance" is German. Neither of these categories is acclimatized in the British mentality. In England the traditional slogan is "national insurance." For the British people to get more than 50 per cent., nay, somewhere about 60 per cent. of their pensions, unemployment benefits, children's allowances, health services, etc., from the Government is a well-established state-socialism of the good old Bismarckian type. Whether this is adequate in the present moods of the British masses and classes remains to be seen. But, on the otherhand, as *John Bull* (London, 28th November, 1942) observes: "vested interests are talking darkly of their protection. The Beveridge plan is being assailed openly and by tricky insinuation. Diehards are pulling political strings."

AN AMERICAN VIEW OF ASIAN FREEDOM

Edgar Snow asks whether the United Nations can hope to defeat Japan unless we have the native peoples of Asia whole-heartedly on our side. The price of their help, he says, is their liberty. That would mean the end of the white man's imperialism in Asia, but that is ended anyway, he believes.

The American people have had a hard lesson in geography. They have learned, and in a way they will remember, where their rubber, tin, silk, tea and spices came from. They have learned abruptly that the Asiatic is not an inferior fighting man, because we have seen that the Japanese can do against us what the Filipino and the Chinese can do for us.

There is another lesson yet unlearned, one which Mr. Snow is teaching out of a first-hand knowledge of Asia as intimate as that of any living American. The lesson is that the curtain fell on December 7, 1941, upon a two-century era in Asia; dropped finally, regardless of the outcome of this war. From 1700 or thereabouts to 1941 the white man, the *pukka sahib*, dominated much of Asia, dealing with the natives as inferior and subject people. This white man's Asia has had a great fall, and all our men and all our planes cannot put humpty dumpty together again, even if we wished.

This is a fact the American people must face in the midst of war, so that they may understand what we are fighting for in the Pacific. We are fighting first of all to defeat the Japanese, of course, because Japan has stepped into the white man's shoes with a vengeance and is creating a huge Asiatic empire which directly threatens all America, Australia and New Zealand. Whipping Japan, then, is our immediate objective in the Pacific.

But what of our long-range objective ? When Japan is smashed, fenced back inside her little island world, what then ? Do we intend to ask our Chinese allies to return to the white man the colonies and concessions which the Japanese have taken over temporarily ? and what would be the Chinese answer ? Are we committed to restore the white man's Asia in China, Indo-China, Malaya, the Netherlands East Indies, Burma, India ?

The sooner we face these questions the better, because our answers may have an important effect upon the outcome of the war, certainly upon its duration. If the Asiatic peoples, the Filipinos included, get the notion that this is a war to determine whether the white man or the Jap shall rule them, they might decide that it is immaterial to them who wins, a choice of frying pan or fire. These Orientals will die on our side only if they are convinced that our victory will be their victory.

Granted that as between the increasingly enlightened rule of the British, the Dutch, the French and ourselves, and the semi-savage brutality of Japan, the Orient would learn quickly enough that the frying pan was not so hot as the fire. Still the lesson would come too late; nor can the Orient see why it should be compelled to choose between the devil and the deep blue sea. What is more, the basis of Japanese propaganda is that the Jap is a fellow Asiatic, an elder brother restoring all Asia to its place in the sun; the white man an alien conqueror.

Pearl Buck, another American, who knows the East's head and heart, told a New York audience: "The peoples of Asia want most of all in this war their freedom, Japan aims to show them that if the United States wins, they will not have it. We cannot win this war without convincing our allies that we are fighting for freedom everywhere."

It is true, as we believe, that the white man's Asia is gone for ever, outmoded in time. Then the quicker Great Britain and the Netherlands realise and act upon this fact, the better for them and for us. It is easy to give away other people's empires, but what is the alternative?

Chiang Kai-Shek's visit to India to enlist her in a genuine united front against Japan, and the generalissimo's warm reception by the Indians, including the powerful All-India Congress Party leaders, is the most hopeful sign yet. Together the peoples of China and India number more than eight hundred millions. Given alms and a cause to fight for they would drive the Liliputian Jap into the Pacific.

The imperialist will say that these peoples are not yet ready for self-government, that an Asia left to self-determination would return to anarchy; and he can make a plausible case too. But it is Asia that he must convince of this, not Europe and America. In any case, the Four Freedoms excommunicated him. (*The Saturday Evening Post*, New York).

Round The World

The Civil Service and the Future

A recent arrival of the *New Statesman and Nation* contains an article with the above heading. The occasion for it was provided by a debate in the House of Lords. Most of the noble Lords who participated in it spoke in the traditional vein and in a complacent manner. They were more or less satisfied with the existing system of recruitment, training and organisation of the Civil Service in Great Britain. But it has been shown in the article referred to above that if the British state is to be run on positive lines, if its society is to be remodelled and if a new era is to be established in its relations with other countries in the Empire, recruitment, training and organisation of the Civil Service must be undertaken on an altogether new basis. The present civil servants, particularly those at the top, are not inspired by any high ideal. Nor are they imbued with any enthusiasm for reorganising society and remodelling the state. In fact they regard any change in the traditions of the country with horror and take upon themselves the responsibility of throwing cold water upon any proposal involving such a change. The result is that not only in the affairs of the colonies and dependencies but also in the national affairs of Great Britain no imagination is shown and no constructive policy is initiated. In housing, insurance, town-planning, treatment of crime—in none of these fields the Civil Service has shown enthusiasm and constructive capacity. The writer points out that the underlying principles of the Civil Service recruitment and training are still those which were discovered one century ago by the Benthamites. Since then the ideas as to the functions and responsibilities of the state have undergone a revolution. But the Civil Service which is the chief instrument of government continues to be organised on the basis of those outworn principles. This is an anachronism which calls for a remedy.

If the state of things in regard to Civil Service is like this in Great Britain, what about it in India ? The Indian Civil Service was the first body on which the principle of open competitive examination was experimented. When, of course, we say that the competition for entry into this service became open, we mean that it was open in practice to the British-born alone. Held only in London, this examination could not be availed of for more than a decade by any Indian and after that also by only a few. The age limits and the syllabus of the examination were also determined so as to shut out the Indian aspirants. Later in the present century when the examination was allowed to be held in India and when the number of Indians who participated in the London examination also increased by leaps and bounds, the principle of open competition threatened the extinction of the British element. So the quota system was introduced and thereby the principle of open competition was abolished. However meritorious and skillful the Indian competitors might prove, they would not be entitled to secure more than fifty per cent of the jobs. The remaining fifty per cent would go to the Britishers irrespective of competitive merit.

But British recruitment is not the only evil which cries for removal. The extra-Indian recruitment and control and the other privileges which the members of the Indian Civil Service enjoy and which are inconsistent with the growth of any kind of self-government in India must be done away with and that as early as possible. There was again a time when the Indian Civil Service establised reputation for efficiency, impartiality and incorruptibility. It enjoys today none of these virtues. Revenue and law and order were the functions in which it specialised

and became efficient. Land revenue has now ceased to be the back-bone of Indian finance and consequently the specialisation of the Indian Civil Service in that subject has also ceased to be of the first importance. As for law and order, none will say today that the continuance of this Service is in any way a guarantee that it will be efficiently maintained. As for other functions which the Government has either already undertaken or ought to undertake in the interests of public welfare, this body has neither by training nor by outlook any aptitude for them. Whenever these functions have been entrusted to them, they have only bungled and mismanaged them to the utter detriment of social welfare. Because of the domination of this Service again, the other civil services, the members of which are entitled to work either only in a subordinate capacity or as experts under the supervision of the Civilians, have found no opportunity of being developed in new lines. It is high time that the I.C.S is abolished and the new civil services are organised on the basis of new ideals and in the light of the new circumstances and environments with which they will be required to tackle.

Formation of the New Ministry in Bengal

A new Ministry with Sir Nazimuddin as the chief has been formed in Bengal. The circumstances in which it has been constituted will throw into despair every body who may believe in the growth of constitutional government in India. In the previous issue we pointed out in these columns that the application of Section 93 soon after the acceptance of Mr. Fazlul Huq's resignation and the passing of the budget by the Governor in his discretion were steps singularly unconstitutional in character. After that, the province remained without a ministry for over three weeks, the administration meanwhile being run by the Governor in his discretion. During these three weeks Sir Nazim was given every opportunity of closing up his ranks, consolidating his strength, disheartening the supporters of the out-going ministry and searching out new colleagues from the opposite camp. Then at last when as a result of a few defections from the Progressive Coalition, the new Ministry was formed, the Governor prorogued the legislature, so that Sir Nazimuddin and his colleagues might not be required to meet it so early in their ministerial career and allow their strength to be challenged in the legislative forum. These are steps taken one after another, which no constitutional practice does sanction and which together constitute only a grave menace to the growth of constitutional government in this country.

If the Governor regarded himself as bound to act up to the spirit of the Act of 1935, the steps he would have taken should certainly have been the very opposite of those which he actually took during the four weeks dating from the 28th of March last. He would not have first of all done anything to influence the resignation of Mr. Fazlul Huq. Secondly, even if the latter resigned of his own accord, he should not have accepted it without being sure that Sir Nazimuddin would be in a position to form the Ministry at once and take responsibility for the budget to be passed without recourse to Section 93. Even when he accepted the resignation of Mr. Huq and found that without his taking powers under that Section the province would be without the budget, he should have recalled Mr. Huq to power, and allowed him to continue in office until he either resigned again after the passing of the budget or was ousted by an adverse vote and the leader of the Opposition took his place. Finally when Sir Nazim formed his government, the legislature should have been given an opportunity of accepting or rejecting this government. It seems that steps contrary to constitutional usage were taken deliberately during the four weeks mentioned above, so as to drive out one Ministry and install another. This is certainly a very sad commentary on the policy of those who are today the champions of *Democracy* in the world.

Dr, Mookerjee and Pakisthan

In his address at Lyallpur as the President of the Punjab Provincial Hindu Conference, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee spoke in no uncertain terms about the demand of the Moslem League for Pakisthan. "It has put forth the theory of two-nations for Hindus and Moslems in India. It demands a separate homeland for Moslems and on this basis it has raised the standard of Pakisthan." But where is that homeland in India in which the Moslems alone happen to live? There is not in fact any part of India, however predominantly inhabited it may be by Moslems, in which there is not a large body of Hindus as well. In view of this "self-determination for Moslems only, living in areas where several crores of Hindus, though a minority, will continue to live, is," observes Dr. Mookerjee, "a queer political demand, seriously made by the League." That the creation of a Pakisthan by dividing India into so-called Hindu and Moslem Zones is really no solution of the communal tangle is strongly emphasised by him. He in fact eloquently but cogently points out, that "financially, it is unworkable. Economically, it is disastrous. Politically, it is ruinous for India as a whole" It was, therefore, but expected that he would declare as President of the Conference that "there can be no compromise on this issue." "In spite of diversities peculiar to India there is a commonness of aim, of thought and outlook, strengthened by economic interdependence and by time-honoured cultural contacts which we can never permit to be weakened."

Polish Refugees in India

Some time ago we dealt in these columns with the Indian refugees from Burma. In that connection we contrasted the treatment which was being meted out to them with the treatment accorded to a few hundred Polish refugee children and young persons in this country. While every care was being taken not only for the latter's healthy upbringing but also for their employment after necessary training, many Indian families which had to leave Burma were finding themselves completely stranded without employment and income. Since this was written the British Prime Minister has given further details as to the entertainment of European refugees in the countries of the British Empire. This he has done in reply to a question put to him by a Conservative member of the House of Commons. He has observed that not only India had already welcomed one thousand Polish children but she would entertain again another batch of ten thousand Poles, five thousand of them being children and five thousand adults. It is needless to point out that these five thousand Polish adults will be provided with employment in this country while the five thousand children will not only be properly housed and fed but will be given every facility of education at the expense of the Government of India. Meanwhile the Indian families coming from Burma remain as stranded as before. We understand that both the Government of Burma and the Government of India have discovered a distinction between refugees and evacues and found in this distinction an excellent reason for not doing anything in respect of these Indian families, while all the time extending their helping hand with enthusiasm and alacrity to the ten thousand Polish refugees in addition to the one thousand already carefully looked after. This is the bitter fruit of dependence which the Indian public is being made to swallow.

Resignation of the Ulster Premier

The six counties which comprise north Ireland were separated from the rest of the island when in 1921 the Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed and the Irish Free State was constituted. These six counties, now called Northern

Ireland, have been administered ever since under the Act of 1920. Its legislature has no control over certain important functions which are vested in the Parliament at Westminster and to this end the people of Northern Ireland are represented both in their own Parliament which meets at Belfast and in the British Parliament at Westminster.

Reuter has brought us the news that Mr. J. M. Andrews, the Prime Minister of Northern Ireland since 1940, has resigned. We do not know the exact reasons responsible for the resignation on his part. That it is due to the withdrawal of confidence by most members of his Party may be taken for granted. But the news agency has been silent as to the reasons of this withdrawal of confidence. The background of Irish politics is not, however, altogether unknown to us. In the light of that background we make some surmises.

The majority of the people of Southern Ireland, now called Eire, have been sore on the ground of the division of their country. Mr. De Valera and his Party have been particularly aggrieved on this issue. He has pointed out in no uncertain terms that Ireland is one and indivisible and the mistake that was committed two decades ago should be rectified without delay. In a speech delivered on the 27th January, 1942, he pointed out that "the Irish people's claim for the union of the whole of the national territory, and for the supreme jurisdiction over it, will remain unabated...the maintenance of partition of Ireland is as indefensible as aggression against small nations elsewhere, which it is the avowed purpose of Britain and the United States in this War to bring to an end."

All these years Mr. De Valera has fought for the abolition of the partition. He has pointed out that if religion was cited as the reason for such partition, it must be known that if the predominant element of the southern population was Catholic, there was also a strong element of Protestants in Eire. Similarly if many of the people in the six northern counties were Protestant, a strong minority was certainly Catholic. In view of this the partition on the ground of religion was regarded by him and his Party as irrational and insupportable. Such partition on the ground of political and social traditions also is, in their eyes, equally insupportable. But what has stimulated De Valera's opposition all the more to the division of the country into two halves is the presence of American troops in Ulster. It should be known that not only the Government of Eire has maintained, reasonably or unreasonably, the policy of neutrality in the present struggle, but what is more there is hardly a dissentient voice in Southern Ireland against this policy. De Valera is supported very enthusiastically in this regard by the opposition led by Mr. Cosgrave. When America entered the War in December, 1941, there was only one gentleman of standing, namely Mr. Dillon, who spoke in favour of joining hands with her who had proved so willing and so effective a friend to Irish interests in the past. But, for the advocacy of this change of front, Mr. Dillon was expelled from his Party. It is true that North Ireland is in the War. But as De Valera and his colleagues regard the whole of Ireland as one, the presence of American troops in the northern counties appears in his eyes to violate this neutrality. So by way of emphasising Irish neutrality, he is also emphasising Irish unity.

But while this is the standpoint of the people in the South, what about the attitude of those in the North? Here the majority is certainly in favour of the existing union with Great Britain and possibly does not look upon the demand of De Valera for Irish unity with equanimity. But there is a strong minority also which believes in Irish nationalism and unity. This group has not been able to influence effectively many constituencies, because of the scattered character of its supporters. But here and there it has succeeded in persuading the electorate to return its nominees to the Northern Parliament. Besides, the I.R.A. which believes in violence is a factor still to be reckoned with. It

made itself a nuisance for some time both in the South and in the North. As a result of strong action it has been largely suppressed in both parts no doubt but still now and again it raises its head and creates disturbance. Only on the 25th of April last by way of commemorating the Easter Rising it seized for a time a Broadway Picture House at Belfast. We do not know if the resignation of Mr. Andrews is connected with any of these issues.

America and India

Most British visitors to the U.S.A. have for the last few months reported that India was increasingly becoming a stumbling block in the way of Anglo-American friendship and understanding. Wherever there was a discussion either on the conduct of the War or on the form of peace after it, the Americans would raise the question of India's status. But this increasing interest in India on the part of the American people has had so far no effect on British policy towards this country. In fact it has had no reaction on the British mind except in one direction. The British people and Government have been influenced by this American opinion only in the sense that they are now changing the methods of approaching the American public. Even the contributor of the London Diary in the leftist weekly, the *New Statesman and Nation*, has pointed out after an American tour that if the American people were to be convinced of the justice of British policy in India, it was necessary to send out to the States only those people who could not be suspected of imperialism. In other words even he does not accept the American standpoint that something should really be done to break the Indian political tangle. But he is anxious to placate the American people otherwise. He knows from his experience that people already tinged with the imperialist brush are suspect in American eyes and should therefore avoid facing the American audience on war issues. Only those who had a reputation of being anti-imperialists should be sent out so that by their seeming sincerity they might hoodwink the Americans into believing that if India was not attaining swaraj, for that the responsibility should attach not to the British people but to the Indians themselves whose perversity was unlimited. Hypocrisy in politics is everywhere taken for granted. But none could certainly compete with the British socialist in the acquisition of this virtue. But will this avail in placating American opinion in the face of the rebuff which William Phillips has received at the hands of the British authorities in regard to an interview with Gandhiji? We know that British policy cannot be influenced now by American sentiment. But is there any reason to believe that this sentiment will be changed or even clouded by the propaganda carried on even by the *anti-imperialist* imperialists of the socialist brand?

Mr. N. R. Sarker and Bengal Banking

Presiding over the jubilee celebration of the Comilla Union Bank, Ltd., Mr. N. R. Sarker made some constructive observations on Bengal banking and the prospects of its development. Growth of commerce and industry and that of banking are complements of each other. Without necessary banking facilities there can hardly be any stimulation of commercial and industrial enterprises and without the latter banks can at best be only loan offices. It is unfortunate that Bengal still lags behind other provinces in respect of commercial and industrial pursuits. Mr. Sarker, we are glad to know, has decided to do his utmost to make good this drawback. There has been for sometime past an increasing enthusiasm for commerce and industry in Bengal. We cannot, however, say that in all instances this enthusiasm has been supported by sufficient training and knowledge. There was a time when most of ours avings

were invested in landed estates. But the tenancy laws, the demand for the abolition of landlordism and other factors of like nature have made such investment unwise and unpopular. Even the hereditary Zemindars are turning more and more to commercial and industrial pursuits. In case permanent settlement is abolished and rent-receiving rights purchased by the Government, the money received by the landlords as compensation will also flow into this channel. In view of this there is a good prospect of industrial development. But without guidance by trained and experienced men there is the risk of money being lost and the province remaining as it is. Mr. Sarker may certainly be an effective adviser. He has also emphasised another point in regard to banking. Branches are not unoften opened in places, not because there is any demand for extra service but because prestige calls for such a branch. But instead of augmenting sound banking, such a practice only retards it.

Future of Permanent Settlement

In March last the outgoing Ministry announced in the Legislative Assembly that the Government of Bengal had decided to abolish the Permanent Settlement, to purchase all rent-receiving rights in this province and to bring thereby the actual tillers of the soil into direct touch with the Government. It was also announced that the experiment would be made first in one or two districts in which revisional operations would be completed in the near future and that wherever the new arrangement would be introduced the zamindars and talukdars whose rights would be purchased would be paid financial compensation to the extent of ten to fifteen times their net profit. The out-going Ministry had no opportunity of implementing this announcement by requisite legislation. We do not know if the present Ministry will regard itself as bound by the decision of its predecessor. But in view of the opinion generally held in this province it is not unlikely that Sir Nazimuddin and his colleagues will also be constrained to act on similar lines in respect of this problem.

Permanent Settlement has been the basis of agrarian organisation in Bengal since the days of Lord Cornwallis. It is not necessary here to go minutely into the causes of this Settlement. It is enough to point out here that while landlordism was already in vogue when Lord Cornwallis took up the reins of administration, settlement with the landlords was then temporary. But this arrangement did not ensure regular payment of revenues to the Government exchequer. So Permanent Settlement was resorted to. That the new scheme of things made the Government a gainer in respect of its finance, there is no doubt about it. That it also secured to the Government the moral and material backing of an influential class must also be admitted. But at the same time, the tenants regarded themselves as being placed completely at the mercy of the zamindars, all of whom were not as considerate as they were expected to be. The result was that in the last century two important pieces of legislation had to be adopted to check the authority of the zamindars—one in 1859 and the other in 1885. But they were not supposed to have gone far enough. In the years after the last war there was hence a fresh demand for the further curtailment of the rights of the zamindars and the augmentation of those of the tenants. To this end new legislation was undertaken in 1928 and 1938. These Tenancy Acts made the zamindars virtually pensioners—their pensions being however only irregularly realised from the tenants. Otherwise they were deprived of their rights over land of which the tenants became proprietors subject only to payment of rent to the zamindars.

This arrangement—a halfway house—was, however, not to the liking of many and they demanded now the abolition of the zamindary system altogether. The Government of Bengal responded to this demand and appointed a Commission which was presided over by Sir Francis Floud. In 1940 the Commission

reported to the effect that the Permanent Settlement should be abolished, the rent-receiving rights should be purchased and the zamindars should be compensated. As to the rate of compensation there was no agreement among the members. Most, however, thought that it should be settled at ten times the annual net profit. While this was the standpoint of the majority of the Commission, the two landlord-members, namely the late Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan and Mr. Brajendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury of Gouripore, vehemently opposed the proposal of abolishing the Permanent Settlement. They pointed out also that if such abolition was decided upon inspite of their opposition, the compensation should be such as to ensure the same income to the zamindars as they were now deriving from their estates. Unless the compensation was fixed at least at twenty times the net profit, such income would not be ensured.

We have seen above that the intention of the outgoing Ministry was to offer compensation to the extent of fifteen times the net profit. What would be now the financial obligations of the Government if the abolition of the Permanent Settlement is decided upon on this basis? The Land Revenue Commission was of the view that to pay compensation at this rate, the Government would be required to borrow nearly 137 crores of rupees. For sixty years this load of debt with all its implications will have to be borne by the Government. The only advantage in return will be that the tenants will have the luxury of paying their rent to the Government instead of to the zamindars and talukdars.

If again any body will think that by this transference of rent from the zamindars to the Government, the economic ills of rural Bengal will be removed, he is in a paradise of his own. Permanent Settlement and landlordism which still exists after the enactment of the tenancy laws may be out of date. But it should be known that the real problems of rural Bengal will await solution even after their abolition. These problems are uneconomic holdings, low yield of the land, absence of a proper marketing machinery for agricultural produce and want of necessary education among the agriculturists. The Land Revenue Commission tells us that two-thirds of the agricultural families have less than four acres of land each. As for yield again, it may be known that rice yield per acre is in Japan three times as much as in Bengal and in China it is twice as much. Even in Madras the yield is greater. As for marketing machinery, there has been no end of discussion since the late twenties when the Royal Commission on Agriculture reported. But nothing tangible has yet been done in this direction. These problems cannot be reduced to facile slogans and in fact they have been too prosaic to attract attention and rouse imagination. But now that the abolition of Permanent Settlement is being decided upon, there should be concentration of energy and attention upon these questions.

Parliamentary Government in India and its Detractors

The British people have been, through the ages, intensely proud of the system of government which they have developed in their own country and which is technically known as Parliamentary. Of late there has no doubt come into being in Britain a group which is convinced that no real change in social organisation can be undertaken through the Parliamentary machinery and believes in revolutionary methods in consequence. But simply because these tactics pre-suppose temporary or permanent supercession of parliamentary government many people have not supported this point of view.

But while the Britishers have been intensely proud of their own system, they are too exclusive a people to think that their institutions can be properly worked by those who are not of their own race. So while they have encouraged responsible government in the Dominions, they looked askance at its experiment in France, Italy and Germany. In fact when they found that such government was not yielding sufficient stability and efficiency in France and Italy, they

became confirmed in their belief that parliamentary government was suited only to the chosen race of Britishers. In view of this it was but a matter of course that there would be violent shaking of heads, when the principle of responsible government on a limited basis was mooted for the Indian provinces.

But once responsible government was introduced in our provinces first on a very limited basis and then in a wider sphere, the Britishers remained quiet for the time being. When the Congress governments had worked for some time in several provinces under the Act of 1935, some of them even went out of their way to testify to their absolute success. The hare was, however, started by the Moslem League, which body now proceeded to shout from the house top that in view of the existence of two rival groups, namely the Hindus and Moslems, not only responsible but every form of democratic government was unsuitable to Indian conditions. It was not long before the British diehards also took the cue from their Moslem confederates, and now Mr. Amery and some of his lieutenants in and out of India are singing in the same tune and are raising their voice to the same key. They also think that responsible government is unsuited to Indian conditions.

We would not mind very much if really this form of government does not flourish in the Indian soil. Constitutions are not to be transplanted from one soil to another. They grow in relation to environments. The people of the United States, though mixed, are at least in influence predominantly Anglo-Saxon. But while in Great Britain the system of government is parliamentary, in the U.S.A. it is presidential. So it is in no way derogatory to us if we find it difficult to work responsible government and choose some other system. Democratic principles also admit of being worked in diverse ways. But while it is not essential that we should stick to responsible government even though it turns out to be a failure or if it can be replaced by a system which may prove more efficient, it is essential that it must be for the Indian people to determine whether this or that form should be abandoned and whether this or that other form should be introduced in this country.

We should also ask in this connection as to when the Indian people had any real opportunity of working responsible government and could not utilise it properly. In fact only for about two years the Congress ministries were in office and during those two years only they had an opportunity of running the government in several provinces without being interfered with too much by either the Governors from above or by the Civil Service from below. Impartial observers including British journalists and administrators were constrained to observe that the conduct of governmental affairs was as satisfactory during this period as it might ever be expected to be. Apart from this short opportunity when was chance given and not utilised? It is in fact a travesty to say that responsible government has been worked and found wanting. Besides, it should be known that those who are now decrying the principle of responsible government are themselves largely responsible for the creation of conditions which militate not only against responsible but against every form of democratic government in India. Who created the atmosphere of separatism among the Moslems in this country and who encouraged and then set up separate electorates to the detriment of the growth of a homogeneous population?

As for the cry of the Moslem League that responsible government is unsuited to Indian conditions, we may very well declare it out of court. In view of its demand for complete separation between the Hindus and the Moslems no government, responsible or presidential, democratic or otherwise, is suited to Indian conditions. If its standpoint is to be accepted we must not only divide India into Hindu and Moslem zones but provide for the transplantation of Moslems from Hindu zones and *vice versa* before discussing any form of government. Mr. Amery is evidently decrying responsible government for the perpetuation of the "steel-frame" government of the bureaucracy and Mr. Jinnah is

decrying democratic government for advancing his demand for Pakisthan. But are they playing into the hands of each other?

Russo-Polish Affairs

The relations between the U.S.S.R. and the Polish Government at London have taken an unfortunate turn. Moscow has cut off diplomatic connection with it and given its ambassador and his staff the conge. The immediate cause was supplied by the reference made by the Polish Government to the International Red Cross at Geneva regarding the Nazi charge that a few thousand Polish Officers were killed by the order of the Soviet Government and buried near Smolensk in 1939-40. That this charge on the part of the Nazi Government of Germany was the result of an attempt to divert world attention from present Nazi brutalities in Poland and to create divisions among the Allies is obvious. But the Polish Government in London played into the hands of the Nazis and believed the story so far as to refer it to the International Red Cross for enquiry. A question was put in the House of Commons to the foreign Secretary if His Majesty's Government had approved of the step which the Polish Government took in this regard. But Mr. Eden evaded any direct reply to this pertinent query. But whatever might have been the first thought of the British Government in respect of this Nazi charge, it has now realised that reference to the Red Cross was a false step and is now trying to bring about some reconciliations between the Polish and Soviet Governments.

The question now is as to why the Polish Government went out of its way to believe the Nazi story so far as to demand an enquiry? This is evidently because the relations between the Polish and Soviet authorities were already none too happy. In fact, they were very much strained. Distrust between Russia and Poland is a heritage of the old Czarist regime in both countries. The greater part of Poland being under Russian control, the Poles, as a dependent people, naturally became hostile by tradition towards the Russians. This distrust might have been eliminated when the Czarist regime was swept away in Russia and replaced by the Soviet system. But the Polish authorities, puffed up with the liberation of their country and ambitious to make it large and strong, took up an attitude of hostility towards the Soviet Union and dreamt of profiting by its dissolution. The discord was thus continued. Ideologically also there was no love lost between the two neighbours. While the Russians pinned their faith to communism and formed their government on Soviet basis, the Poles came under a system which differed from Nazism only in efficiency.

After the Nazi conquest of Poland again quite a large body of Polish children and more than a million of other Poles took shelter in the U.S.S.R. Some time ago we were told that a large percentage of these children died out for want of nutritious food. None will believe that such nutritious food was deliberately withheld by the Russian Government from these children. In fact as a result of the ravages of the War food has become scanty in the U.S.S.R. and unable to feed its own citizens properly, the Soviet Government naturally could not possibly pay sufficient attention to the children refugees from Poland. It must also be said to the credit of the Polish Government that it did not bring any charge of deliberately withholding food from these children. But as regards the adult refugees there has been trouble particularly in respect of determining their nationality. Among these are jews as well as Ukrainians. The Polish Government wanted them all to be counted as Polish citizens. But the Russians refused. It had been the ambition of the Polish Government to incorporate the greater part if not the whole of Ukraine as well as portions of Lithuania in Poland. With the prospects of allied victory being brighter every day, the Polish Government is now dreaming of not only a regenerated but of a territorially augmented Poland. We do not know exactly much of the attitude

of the British Government in this regard. But we know that one influential section of the British public believes in the creation of a strong middle Europe, immune from both German and Russian influence but accessible to such influence on the part of Britain. That Poland, regenerated and revitalised, will be the main factor of this middle Europe should be taken for granted. In view of this it is but likely that the Soviet Government will not entertain the idea of counting the Ukrainians as Polish citizens as thereby it will commit itself to the territorial acquisition of Ukraine by Poland.

In view of this background of mutual distrust, born of cross purposes, it is not expected that all at once the relations between Poland and the Soviet Union will be cordial. But if diplomatic relations are resumed, it is expected that an opportunity will be found for improving the relationship.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Non-Violence in Peace and War.—By M. K. Gandhi, with an Introduction by Mahadev Desai and an Index. Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Post Box 105, Ahmedabad. Pp. xii+608. Price Rs. 4.

This book contains 145 contributions on non-violence of which less than ten are by Pyarelal and Mahadev Desai, the rest coming from the pen of Mahatma Gandhi. It has also a carefully prepared Index which offers a ready means of finding out the views of Gandhiji on particular aspects of non-violence and its application under various conditions. The valuable introduction by Mahadev Desai deals with the evolution of this doctrine from the religious, the philosophical and the historical points of view. The contributions consist of the more outstanding of Gandhiji's pronouncements on this subject from August, 1920 when Non-Co-operation had just started down to September, 1940, a period of two decades. What strikes the reader after going through this book is the inner consistency which has characterised his interpretation of the principle and the way in which he has given expression to it.

It is to remove the misconceptions natural to those who have not considered the pronouncements and activities of our great national leader as a whole that an explanation has been offered of the apparent contradictions in his attitude towards the last and the present war in the former of which he had exhorted his countrymen to enlist in the "army and in the present war where he was content with offering moral support only. In that connection, the reader would do well to study carefully the contributions headed "My Part in the Last War," "Why Did I Assist in the Last War?" "How the Hope Was Shattered" on the one hand and "Conundrums" "Unconditional Support" "India's Attitude" "How to Combat Hitlerism," and "Moral Support" on the other.

More than one contribution deals with what many consider the wavering policy of the Congress which at one time has stood for non-violence and at another has professed its willingness to co-operate with the administration through violence and gives the reasons as Gandhiji sees them. He makes it clear that in his view India is not military but peaceful by nature (No. 87) and that the Congress, as an organisation, had adopted non-violence as a policy and to that extent found itself unable to accept the leadership of Gandhiji (*vide* article headed "On Trial"). That as one who demands the utmost possible freedom in shaping his life in ways which seem good to him, Gandhiji has never criticised this great organisation for its occasional lapses is clear when we go through his famous article "Both Happy and Unhappy," and the less known ones entitled "The War Resolution" and "Congress Ahimsa."

As early as April, 1940, Gandhiji replying to a question put to him by Chinese visitors acknowledged that there is "hatred against the British" and suggested that if India "remains non-violent" "it would die as everything else does from disuse." This is a sufficient reply to the charge brought against him by some very prominent British statesmen and publicists that he is one of the "arch-saboteurs."

The book also contains Gandhiji's "Appeal to Every Briton" which was so widely misunderstood by many Englishmen who had no idea of the religious motives which lie behind it and who therefore, from their point of view, regarded it as antagonistic to the war effort. A series of contributions which answer the various criticisms of this appeal clarify the position of Mahatma Gandhi as regards the way in which violence should be met and opposed.

The principles of Ahimsa which have been time and again explained by Gandhiji are interpreted once again in "What to Do," "An Interesting Discourse" and "Non-Violence of the Brave." These, within a very short compass, give the reasons for the adoption of non-violence and explain its success wherever it has been employed in the right way.

Lastly, the reviewer has to draw the attention of the reader to the tribute paid to Mr. M. A. Jinnah by Mahatma Gandhi which coming from such a quarter should at once dispose of all criticism of the activities of the political organisation he represents as being dictated by selfishness. This occurs in the contribution entitled "I Was Unjust Because Weak."

The reviewer has tried to give an idea and no more of the contents of this book and leaves the prospective reader to go through it in extenso. One warning, however, he deems necessary. Not much profit can be expected if it is read through hurriedly. Vital questions and important problems have been discussed and their Gandhian solution offered. These solutions in all cases hinge on the acceptance of certain basic truths about which the world has not yet come to a decision excepting that they are for observance by the ascetic and the saint.

The Gandhian contention is that it is not so. These truths must find practical application not only in our everyday life but that we must stick to them even in the midst of the most adverse circumstances when doing so implies calumny and suffering. That the ordinary man has not yet prepared himself to the extent that he is ready to accept and give effect to them is a well-known fact. But there cannot be much doubt, after the study of this book, that large number of thoughtful people belonging to different parts of the West and East are gradually coming to realise the value of the technique initiated by our great leader.

The reviewer recommends this book as the best exposition of non-violence in the words of its most celebrated exponent. Its value lies in the fact that the reader can draw his own conclusions from original sources, something much better than reading some one else's interpretation of Ahimsa.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

The Marking of English Essays.—Published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London. Pp. 165+xv. Price 3*s.* 6*d.*

This is a report on an investigation carried out by a Sub-committee of the International Institute Examinations Enquiry Committee which had as its Chairman Sir Michael Sadler. The Sub-committee consisted of five members of whom Sir Philip Hartog was the Chairman and Director of the investigation. The movement was started at an international conference held at Eastbourne under the auspices of three American organisations in May, 1931. This was followed by other conferences which were held in England as well as in France and were attended by distinguished European and American educationists, who had thus a valuable opportunity of discussing the examination systems of different countries. It is these discussions that suggested the need of researches on modern examinations.

The report consists of twelve chapters with Appendixes and a list of tables. A preface has been contributed by Sir Michael Sadler and Sir Philip Hartog. The outline scheme of the investigation is explained and the tests used are described in Chap. II. The marking of English essays, approximately of school certificate standard, and the relation of the marks to those awarded for objective tests are dealt with in Chap. III. The next chapter gives the statistical report by Dr. Smith, which is based on the analysis of about 34,000 marks yielded by the first examination of 600 scripts and 5 objective tests, and about 7000 marks yielded by the second marking of 129 scripts. Chapter

V discusses how far literacy may be regarded as a determining factor in judging essays. Essays selected on the basis of marks awarded by the examiners are reproduced in Chap. VI. They are divided into three classes: (*a*) the best essay, (*b*) those that are just 'competent' and (*c*) those about the merits of which the examiners are not agreed. The conclusions of the Sub-Committee and its recommendations appear in the last two chapters.

The main object with which the present investigation was undertaken was to ascertain whether the consistency and validity of the examination could be improved by introducing a new element into the marking of the essay. This was called 'sense' which was taken "to express the measure in which the object of a composition, clearly defined in some cases, to be guessed from internal evidence in others, has been attained (in the opinion of the examiners)." A person does not in real life just 'write.' He writes for a given audience and with a given object in view which may be to explain, to persuade or to fulfil any other purpose. 'Sense' is the measure of his success in realising this object in his composition. There may be sense in an essay, although it may be full of defective spelling and faulty grammar. The conclusion at which the report arrives is that the introduction of the new element of "sense' does not increase the consistency of the marking of the English essay. The recommendations of an authoritative board like the present Sub-Committee should attract wide-spread attention. The first one is against the practice of asking pupils above 13 to write essays on general topics. They should be asked instead to write compositions on subjects of which they have some experience, and the audience and the object should either be defined by the examiner or left to be previously determined by themselves. The second requires the pupils to submit a short summary or synopsis of their composition. This is likely to help them in presenting their thoughts in an orderly manner. The report elsewhere distinguishes 'undirected' from 'directed' composition which is the issue of hints suggested by the paper-setter himself. The summary serves the same purpose as these hints. Another recommendation suggests that the compositions of students between 13 and 16 should be marked for the following categories in the order indicated: (I) sense; (II) spelling; (III) Punctuation, including formal Paragraphing; (IV) Grammar and Syntax; (V) Accuracy of Vocabulary; (VI) Power of Expression, to cover (*a*) felicities in the use of vocabulary and (*b*) sentence structure; and (VII) General Impression. Marks for General Impression are to be allotted after the marks for the other categories, but not by any process of arithmetical summation of those marks. Another recommendation almost amounts to one for an examination of examiners, and is likely to be viewed with dismay by the latter. It suggests that to test their self-consistency provision should be made for the re-marking of a few of the scripts by the original examiners, all marks on those scripts having been completely removed.

The report is admirably drawn up. It is to be presumed that the recommendations are tentative and their value can be tested only after they have been adopted and actually followed for some time. Technical matters have at times been discussed and the intricacies of statistics introduced. But the problem dealt with is important, and the publication will repay careful perusal.

The materials on which the report is based were derived from England, and the tests were carried out in that country. But conditions in England are different from those in India and English composition by English students is not parallel to English composition by Indians. It is therefore difficult to see how far the recommendations can be acted upon in this country. They can serve useful purpose if they inspire responsible educationists to undertake research to test their suitability for Indian pupils.

M. M. BHATTACHARJI

Vedanta Paribhasha.—Edited with an English translation by S. S. Sūryanārāyaṇa Śāstrī, M.A., B.Sc.(Oxon.), Barrister-at-law, Head of the Department of Philosophy, University of Madras. Published by Adyar Library, Adyar. 1942. Pp. xl + 218. Price Rs. 2-12.

The Vedānta Paribhāṣā of Dharmarājādhvarīndra is an excellent Vedānta classic on the Advaita theory of knowledge and Metaphysics. A system of philosophy cannot claim to its richness and fulness without a systematic treatment of Epistemology. The Metaphysics of Śaṅkara with its marvellous theory of Māyāvāda is looked upon by scholars as the utmost boundary to which legitimate human thought can approach in the domain of ultimate reality. No metaphysical system can be thorough without an epistemological basis. So in the history of Vedāntic development we see that, after Śaṅkara, honest attempts at the Advaita theory of knowledge have been made by Śaṅkara's direct disciple Padmapāda in his famous Pañcapādikā and Prakāśātman in his Vivaraṇa. The germ-plasm contained in these treatises was developed in a systematic form in the Vedānta-Kaumudī of Rāmādvaya. (13th Cent. A.D.), yet as a logical treatment of Epistemology of Advaita-Vedānta, the work of Dharmarājādhvarīndra is unrivalled in the field of Vedāntic literature. Himself a great logician and a keen metaphysician, Dharmarājādhvarīndra analysed the six ways of knowing with their psychological background and metaphysical bearing. Being a Standard work on the subject the Vedānta Paribhāṣā is widely read by students of Indian philosophy at Indian Universities. Thus the need of an English rendering of such a work cannot be overestimated. The first attempt in this line was made by Arthur Venis, M.A., whose translation appeared in the pages of the 'Pandit.' At present we are fortunate in having two English Translations of the work—one by Svāmī Mādhavānanda of Rāmkṛṣṇa Mission, the other by S. S. Sūryanārāyaṇa Śāstrī, M.A., B.Sc.(Oxon.), Bar-at-law, Head of the Department of Indian Philosophy, University of Madras. Prof. Śāstrī has already enriched our philosophical literature by his learned translations and critical editions of philosophical treatises, including the Bhāmati Catussūtrī, Vivaraṇa-prameya-Saṃgraha, etc. The present book is also a welcome addition. The work under review is enriched by a Foreword by Sir Sarvapalli Rādhākṛṣṇan, Kt., LL.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., and an introduction with analytical contents covering 40 pages by the author himself. Besides it embodies the full Sanskrit text with English translation, and Notes covering 218 pages. The Notes appended to the book testify to the scholarship and ability of the author and will be a great help to the students. The English rendering is readable and accurate. We may add by the way, that English equivalents of technical Sanskrit words are badly needed for students not initiated in original works. So an Index and a Glossary would have enhanced the value of the work. The book is neatly got-up.

A. T. SASTRI

A Selection from the Speeches and Writings—By Sachchidananda Sinha. Second Edition. Published by Thacker Spink and Co., Ltd. 1942. Pp. 911.

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha has been a public man for half a century. During this long period he has attained great reputation at the bar and high prestige in journalism. He has at the same time rendered great services to his province (Bihar) both as a politician and as an educationist. His knowledge of men and things up and down the country during this period is almost unique. For a term he was a member of the Executive Council of his province and held the portfolio of Finance during the Mont-Ford days and in this capacity he earned a good deal of inside information which as a rule remains sealed to those who study government only from outside.

Mr. Sinha is one of that band of politicians who in the last century and in the early years of the present pledged themselves to administrative and political reforms. They thought they could advocate them effectively and demand them successfully only if they studied the problems in their details and mastered them as their own. Separation of Executive and Judicial Functions, Indianisation of the Services, and some such other problems they studied with care and advocated with ability, though not always with success. Nationalism was with most members of this band an article of sacred faith. Mr. Sinha of course did not exactly see eye to eye with the others in this respect. Provincialism was and is to him as high an ideal.

The speeches and articles which are incorporated in this volume were delivered and contributed at different times during the last fifty years. They touch upon a wide variety of subjects. But whether the topic is Renaissance of Indian Music or it is the Abolition of Commissionerships in British India, Mr. Sinha deals with it both with knowledge and with clarity. Here and there again in these speeches and writings, we get information which is as interesting as it is new to the generations which have come after Mr. Sinha. In a speech which he delivered in July, 1937, as the temporary Speaker of Behar Legislative Assembly, for instance, he places before us some information as to the working of the Legislative Councils constituted under the Act of 1892—information which must be of interest to all students of Indian constitutional evolution.

In 1900 he along with Pandit (now Sir) Tej Bahadur Sapru attended a meeting of the provincial Legislative Council at Allahabad. The subject which was then being debated was agrarian legislation. As the debate developed, the visitors became the witnesses of a scene. An independent-spirited Rai Bahadur zemindar began to read out his views, which, however, proved highly annoying to the Lieutenant-Governor who was presiding. Before the speaker had come to the main part of his address, the latter lost his temper and shouted "no, no, no" at the top of his voice and pointed out that either the Rai Bahadur's observations should be withdrawn or they would be expunged from the proceedings. Needless to say they were withdrawn. In fact, Mr. Sinha tells us that the proceedings both of the Indian and the provincial Councils were absolutely dominated by the Governor-General or his lieutenants as the case might be. The members were not allowed even to read out their speeches standing, as this posture might resemble the mode of speaking in the British House of Commons. The British officers in this country had a horror of parliamentary government being introduced in India. They would emphasise on all occasions that the Indian Councils were not patterned on the Mother of Parliaments. The members here must on this account avoid British parliamentary practice and make their addresses in the Council, glued to their seats.

The book not only throws light on the views and aspirations of an experienced public man of our country but will serve as an excellent work of reference in regard to many subjects of public importance.

N. C. Roy

Ourselves

[I. Sir Nilratan Sircar.—II. Late Dr. Narayun Chandra Banerjee—III. Asutosh Day.—IV. Centenary Celebration of the Birth of Sir Gooroodass Banerjee.—V. Proposal for the Extension of the University Training Corps.—VI. A Proposal for the establishment of a School of Architecture.—VII. The University and the Bengal River Research Institute.]

I. Sir Nilratan Sircar

Sir Nilratan Sircar passed away at Giridih at 3-30 P.M. on the 18th May last at the ripe age of eighty-two and the melancholy news reached Calcutta the same evening. He had been ailing for sometime past but there were many who hoped that he might remain in our midst for a few years more. But neither the good wishes of his countrymen whom he had served so faithfully and so well in different capacities for over half a century nor the prayers of his relatives and personal friends could stay the hand of the inevitable. He had an attack early last month but it seemed that he would survive it. There was, however, a relapse which proved inexorable and yielded no ground to that science which he had himself practised with so much knowledge, skill and success.

Sir Nilratan would be remembered first and foremost as a great medical man. Not only for about two generations he was the greatest luminary in the Indian medical world but it was he who had won for the Indian practitioners of modern medical science the same status and dignity as their western brethren happened to enjoy. Born of poor parents, he had at first to limit himself to those rudiments of medical knowledge which could be imparted to him in a Medical School. But his ambition to master the science led him forward and he earned as a school teacher the wherewithal for admission into the Medical College. From now on he marched from triumph to triumph and it was not long before he became recognised as the head of the profession in the city of Calcutta. His enthusiasm for modern medical science was so great and his confidence in its efficacy was so sure that early in his career he became determined to widen the scope of learning this science in this city. With the co-operation of a few friends he started the College of Physicians and Surgeons which was later amalgamated with the Calcutta Medical

School. He also took a very prominent part in the establishment of the Carmichael Medical College of which he was for years the President. The origin and growth of the Indian Medical Association which has become now so strong and effective a body as the guide and mouthpiece of the Indian medical profession owed also a great deal to the initiative and leadership of Sir Nilratan.

With the University of Calcutta of which he was so great and so noble an alumnus, he maintained till the last a relation of deep responsibility. Elected a Fellow by the registered graduates in 1893, he continued to be on the Senate ever since and in 1919 his long services to the cause of education in this province were rewarded by his appointment as the Vice-Chancellor of this University. He held this office for one term but later he had to shoulder for several years the responsibility of the Post-Graduate Departments in Arts and Science as their elected President. He also represented this University in 1920 at the Congress of the British Empire Universities in London, and was honoured on the occasion by the Universities of Oxford and Edinburgh which conferred upon him the honorary degrees of D.C.L. and LL.D. respectively.

Although Sir Nilratan would be remembered chiefly as a great medical man and as a leading educationist, no record of his career, however bald it may be, would be complete without a reference to his services to this province as a pioneer industrialist. Early in this century he took upon himself the responsibility of establishing a soap factory as well as a tannery. This was an impetus to industrial activity, which was urgently needed in Bengal at the time and which proved very much effective, emanating as it did from so respected a man as he was.

Nineteenth century saw the birth of many great and eminent personalities in this country and Sir Nilratan was certainly one of them. By his death this dwindling galaxy loses one more member. Sir J. C. Bose and Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore had predeceased him and still earlier had departed Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. Sir Nilratan has now followed them out of this field of their joint activities. The void which has been thus created will be long to fill. It is, however, our hope that their examples will prove sufficiently inspiring and a new generation, imbued with their ideals and following the path of toil and industry as they did, will step into the breach and help in the regeneration of the country which they had loved so dearly and passionately.

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II. Dr. Narayan Chandra Banerjee

We are grieved to announce the death of Dr. Narayan Chandra Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D. A brilliant student of history, he joined the Post-Graduate Department in 1917 and lectured for over a quarter of a century to Post-Graduate students of this University in History, Ancient Indian History and Anthropology. His special field of research was Ancient Indian History on different aspects of which he held minute investigations and published their results in several books. By his untimely death at the age of fifty-two only, the University has sustained the loss of an able teacher and scholar. We offer our condolences to the members of the bereaved family.

* * *

III. Sir Asutosh Day

The nineteenth anniversary of the death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was observed on the 25th of May last in the same way as in previous years. In the morning there was a large gathering at the foot of his statue in the Chowringhee square to offer to his memory its tribute of respect. Mr. Justice Bijan Kumar Mukherji who presided on the occasion referred in his speech to the manifold qualities of head and heart which the great departed possessed to so eminent a degree and which would make his memory immortal in this country. In the evening a large body of Fellows, professors, and students of the University as well as some other admirers assembled at the foot of his bust in the Darbhanga Building. Mr. Justice Charuchandra Biswas presided over the function. He garlanded the bust on behalf of those present and recalled in a short speech the traits of character of Sir Asutosh and the great achievements which he had to his credit. He referred to it particularly that although the 25th of May was a special day for paying homage to the memory of Sir Asutosh, it was certainly not the only day in the year on which he was remembered by the workers in this University. In fact, he observed, so much of the University was his handiwork and upon so many aspects of it he had left a permanent impress of his ideal and personality that those who were connected with the University in one way or another had occasion to remember him at every moment of their working hours. Sir Asutosh has left behind him an example of a strong, sturdy and self-confident man who would stand full height on every occasion and never bend his head before a fellow being and Mr. Justice Biswas concluded by exorting those connected with the University to emulate this example of sturdy virile manhood.

IV. Centenary Celebrations of the Birth of Sir Gooroodass Banerjee

Sir Gooroodass Banerjee shed lustre on his age as a great jurist, as a great educationist and what is more as a man of character and honour. January, 1944, would mark the centenary of his birth. We are glad to learn that efforts are already being made to celebrate the occasion in a befitting manner. The organisers have decided to extend the celebration over a period of one year. During this time a short biography of this great man will be issued both in English and in Bengali, delineating the chief features of his life and character. Some of his works which at one time proved so instructive and inspiring will be republished. Apart from them it is the object of the organisers to issue a centenary memorial volume in which prominent men in different fields of work are expected to write not only on the life and teachings of Sir Gooroodass but also on different aspects of Indian thought and culture which had influenced him. It is also proposed that an exhibition will be organised and held in which among other things the relics and manuscript writings of Sir Gooroodass and letters written by eminent persons to him will find a prominent place. In this connection we are inserting below an appeal made by Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee to the public, to which, we hope, there will be a ready response.

The Appeal

Of the galaxy of illustrious sons of Bengal, who have won the high esteem, deep reverence and grateful affection of their countrymen by virtue of their exemplary character, profound learning, steady uprightness and indomitable spirit of independence, Sir Gooroodass deserves our special remembrance. As a profound scholar and an inspiring teacher, as a great idealist and a stern realist, as an eminent jurist and an upright judge, as a sturdy champion of the cause of Indian learning and a staunch advocate of the religious, moral and social ideal of India, Sir Gooroodass' name is a household word in Bengal, nay, in India. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that to commemorate the birth centenary of this noble son of Bengal and to disseminate the high ideals he cherished, celebrations should be held during the next twelve months throughout the length and breadth of this province of his birth as well as at different cultural centres in India as far as practicable. The programme includes popular lectures and Radio talks, special cultural addresses, essay competitions, exhibition and the publication of centenary commemoration volume. With a view to giving a practical shape to the programme of celebrations to be held the Sir Gooroodass Centenary Celebra-

tions Committee sends forth this appeal to our countrymen, irrespective of caste, creed, or nationality and invite the generous assistance and hearty co-operation in every possible way of all schools, colleges, universities, associations, learned societies and public bodies. The Centenary Committee hopes that our countrymen will not fail to rise equal to the occasion and make the celebrations a success.

(*Sd/-*) SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE

* * *

V. PROPOSAL FOR THE EXTENSION OF THE UNIVERSITY TRAINING CORPS

Recently the attention of the University Syndicate was drawn to the fact that for different reasons the popularity of the University Training Corps had considerably increased during recent times. The strength of the Unit has in fact proved too inadequate for the accommodation of a large body of qualified applicants. The number on the waiting list has been increasing by leaps and bounds. In view of this the University has decided to approach the Head Quarters, Eastern Army, for the addition of a Company to the 1st Calcutta Battalion.

* * *

VI. A PROPOSAL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE

Recently a proposal signed by a number of distinguished citizens was submitted to the University for establishing a School of Architecture in Calcutta, financed by and affiliated to the University. The Syndicate has constituted a committee to consider the proposal.

* * *

VII. THE UNIVERSITY AND THE BENGAL RIVER RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Some time ago the Chief Engineer, Irrigation Branch, Communication and Works Department of the Government of Bengal, wrote to the University proposing that Professor M. N. Saha and Prof. J. N. Mukherjee might take up the investigation of Physical and Chemical problems of the River Research Institute in the laboratories of the University College of Science in collaboration with Dr. N. K. Bose, the Director of the River Research Institute, Bengal. The University has accepted the proposal on condition that a detailed scheme was prepared and approved by the Government of Bengal regarding the manner of co-operation between the University and the Institute in respect of working out the schemes of research and utilizing their results.

NOTIFICATION

Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, Calcutta University

Asutosh Building, the 30th March, 1943

NOTICE

The following are the subjects for submission of theses in competition for the medals noted below :—

Names of the medals

1. Ranee Ramrakshi Gold Medal, 1945—

(1) Kashmiri Saiva Dharma,

or

(2) Sanskrit Literature and Religion.

2. Anandaram Barooah Gold Medal, 1944 and 1945—

(1) Military System as in the Mahabharata (1944)

(2) Woman in the Ramayana (1945).

3. Mrinalini Gold Medal, 1945—

(1) History of Bengal from the 4th to the 8th Century A.D.,

or

(2) India's political and cultural relations with the Far East from the 1st to the 8th Century A.D.,

(3) History of the Madhyadesh from the fall of the Mauryas to the rise of the Guptas.

4. Khujasta Akhtar Banu Suhrawardy Gold Medal, 1945—

(1) Musalman Vaisnavite Writers in any Indian Language,

or

(2) The Hosain Shahi Dynasty and its Contribution to the Cultural Synthesis in Bengal,

or

(3) Collaboration of Hindus and Muslims in Bengal Folk Painting,

or

(4) Contribution of Hindus to Historical Literature in Persian.

The attention of the candidates for competing the theses is invited to the following rules :—

1. Ranee Ramrakshi Gold Medal

The topics on which the theses are to be submitted were modified by the Syndicate on 11th March, 1932, as follows :—

In the case of the first medal a thesis on any topic connected with any system of Indian Philosophy (including Jaina and Buddhist systems) will be accepted.

In the case of the second medal a thesis on any topic connected with Indian Religion and Culture will be accepted.

Each medallist will also be awarded a prize in books of his own choice worth Rs. 75 each.

The theses are to be composed in Bengali and the medals are to be open to competition among all persons who have been at any time admitted to a degree of this University. The theses of successful candidates are to be printed and published by the University. The medals are to be presented to the recipients at the Annual Convocation for conferring degrees and the names of the medalists are to be published in the Calendar and in the *Calcutta Gazette*.

(*i*) Each candidate shall be required to submit, not later than the 31st October in the year for which the award is to be made, a thesis or record of original work in the subject selected for the year, and to send three copies of his thesis or record of work, to the Secretary to the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, under a distinguishing motto. The name of the candidate must also be forwarded at the same time in a sealed envelope with the motto outside.

(*ii*) Each candidate shall further be required to indicate generally in a preface to his thesis, and specially in notes, the sources from which his information is taken, the extent to which he has availed himself of the work of others, and the portions of the thesis which he claims as original. He shall also be required to state whether his research has been conducted independently, under advice, or in collaboration with others, and in what respects his investigations appear to him to tend to the advancement of knowledge.

2. Anandaram Borooah Gold Medal

(1) That the medal be open for competition amongst all persons who have at any time been admitted to a degre in this University and be awarded every alternate year.

(2) That the medal be adjudged to the author of the best thesis or record of original work on a prescribed subject relating to Sanskrit learning.

(3) That each candidate for the medal be required to submit, not later than the 30th June in the year in which the medal is to be awarded, three type-written or printed copies of his thesis or record of work to the Secretary to the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts, under a distinguishing motto. The name of the candidate must also be forwarded at the same time in a sealed envelope with the motto outside.

(4) That every candidate be required to indicate generally in a preface to his thesis, and specially in notes, the sources from which his information is taken, the extent to which he has availed himself of the work of others, and the portion of the thesis which he claims as original; and that he be also required to state whether his research has been conducted independently, under advice, or in collaboration with others, and in what respects his investigations appear to him to tend to the advancement of knowledge.

3. Mrinalini Gold Medal

(1) That the medal be annually awarded to the author of the best thesis embodying the result of original research or investigation in a topic connected with Ancient Indian History and Culture, the subject to be prescribed by the Board of Higher Studies in History at least one year in advance and the examination to be conducted according to rules framed by the Board from time to time in that behalf.

(2) That the medal be open to competition among all graduates of the University of not more than ten years' standing.

(*i*) Each candidate shall be required to submit, not later than the 31st October in the year for which the award is to be made, a thesis or record of original

work in the subject selected for the year, and to send the typewritten or printed copies of his thesis or record of work, to the Secretary to the Post-Graduate Council in Arts, under a distinguishing motto. The name of the candidate must also be forwarded, at the same time, in a sealed envelope with the motto outside.

(*ii*) Each candidate shall further be required to indicate generally in a preface to his thesis, and specially in notes, the sources from which his information is taken, the extent to which he has availed himself of the work of others, and the portions of the thesis which he claims as original. He shall also be required to state whether his research has been conducted independently, under advice, or in collaboration with others, and in what respects his investigations appear to him to tend to the advancement of knowledge.

4. *Khujasta Akhtar Banu Suhrawardy Gold Medal*

(1) That the medal be awarded once in every two years to the author of the best thesis, embodying the result of original research or investigation in a topic relating to the reciprocal influence of Hindu and Moslem cultures and civilisations.

(2) The subject for the thesis be prescribed at least two years in advance by a Committee of five members appointed by the Executive Committee of the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts.

(3) That the medal be open to competition among all persons who have at any time been admitted to a degree in this University.

(4) That the theses be composed in English or in an Indian Vernacular.

(*i*) Each candidate shall be required to submit, not later than lhe 31st October in the year for which the award is to be made, a thesis or record of original work in the subject selected for the year, and to send three type-written or printed copies of his thesis or record of work, to the Secretary to the Post-Graduate Council in Arts, under a distinguishing motto. The name of the candidate must also be forwarded, at the same time, in a sealed envelope with the motto outside.

(*ii*) Each candidate shall further be required to indicate generally in a preface to his thesis, and specially in notes, the sources from which his information is taken, the extent to which he has availed himself of the work of others and the portions of the thesis which he claims as original. He shall also be required to state whether his research has been conducted independently, under advice, or in collaboration with others and in what respects his investigations appear to him to tend to the advancement of knowledge.

S. N. MITRA—*Secretary,*

Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science, Catcutta University.

MENDED
2009